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ABSTRACT

This descriptive report examines public interest groups formed by women in the United States. In 1978 and 1979 representatives from the Center for the American Woman and Politics attended national and regional meetings of public interest and professional groups whose members work in local, county, and state governments. While there, they observed the women's meetings and interviewed women leaders. There are four major sections to the report. The first section presents a state of the art review of women's organizations in the public service. Examined are statewide organizations, women's organizations in national public interest groups, women's organizations within professional associations, organizations at the federal level, organizations of national and state legislators, research and training centers for women in political life or governmental employment, and the Presidential Management Intern Program. The second section discusses reasons for and problems in women's organizations. Achievements and frustrations are examined in section three. The report concludes with a discussion of needs and suggestions. The appendices include listings of women's organizations in the public sector. (RM)

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WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE: TOWARD AGENDA SETTING

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DIANE ROTHBARD MARGOLIS, *Author*
KATHY STANWICK, *Project Director*

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A Note on Method

Research for this report began in July 1978 at the National Association of Counties' Annual Conference in Atlanta, Georgia, and was completed in June 1979. During that period representatives from the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) attended national and regional meetings of public interest and professional groups whose members work in local, county and state governments. While there, we observed women's meetings, sitting in on most of them, and participating in some of them. We also used those occasions to interview women leaders, members of women's groups, and professional support staff for these groups. Several trips to Washington, D.C. gave us the opportunity to interview other members of the staffs of some of those organizations and to talk with women working in federal agencies, with leaders of federally employed women's advocacy organizations, and with persons working on special federal programs for women. Finally, during the last two months of our project we telephoned women leaders around the country, hoping to fill in some gaps still left in our understanding and knowledge.

In all these observations and interviews our questioning followed a fairly standard pattern. We wanted to know how the groups had formed, how they were structured, how they related to their parent organizations, why they had formed, what their goals and programs were, how successful they felt they had been and what they thought might make them more successful. We asked for copies of their organization's publications. When there was time we also inquired into the personal experiences of the women we met--what had brought them into public life, what had helped, what had hindered, how they had overcome the barriers they faced, how they thought other women

could be spared the difficulties they had encountered, and what they thought could be done to bring more women into public life.

A recurrent worry throughout the project was that we would somehow overlook the most well-developed group or the most important person in the field. We think we have interviewed enough people and observed enough groups to have avoided that pitfall, but we have no doubt that in spite of our efforts we have left out some groups or persons we should have seen.

One area we intended to cover with greater care is that of training and education. Early in our research we read Beryl Radin's 1978 report, "Leadership Training for Women in the Public Service." We knew that in the time we had, we could not do better and probably not cover that topic even as well as she had. We concur with the recommmendation in that report that "further efforts are necessary to assess the effectiveness of existing training programs." We did look at a few training programs and workshops, but not in the depth nor with the comparative analytical techniques that would have told us which were the more effective.

We also looked briefly at schools of public administration and spoke with some leaders there, especially with those who have been working to make those programs better fit the needs of women so they could attract more women. Most schools of public administration are young; they are still working out problems of program, of quality, and of review. Offerings at the annual meeting of the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) indicate a concern for the status of women in this young profession and a clear sense of need to attract more women to it, but there is no formal or informal women's group within the Association. Without

a group to focus upon, our technique and treatment of this area could not follow the format used in our study of other areas, and thus the roles, status, and needs of women in schools of public administration remain a subject to be explored.

Even the parts of the world of women in government that were structurally well enough defined to yield to our method were so much more vast and complicated than we expected that we cannot claim that in our year's work on the subject we have exhausted the field. About a week before we completed this report we saw a map of the North American continent drawn in 1600. Our friend upon whose wall the map hung said, "It gives the lay of the land. The details are a bit obscure, but considering when it was done, it's amazingly accurate." We suspect that our mapping of women's groups and programs within the public service is about at that level. Our report, we hope, will be as valuable a document as that map was to subsequent explorers.

INTRODUCTION

For Women in Government, it was the "Us Decade"

We set out to learn about women in government--to find out what problems they might face that their male colleagues did not, to watch their organizations in action, to hear from women what changes they thought would help them to advance and what might encourage more women to join their ranks.

What we found was that women in government are developing mutual support groups across the country. In a number of states, in public interest groups, at most levels of government, women have formed or are trying to form organizations that will help them to meet their special needs. In 1970 there was hardly a formal or informal grouping of women in government; by 1980 most women in government will have some organization they can join to meet with others like themselves. Although, so far, only a small percentage of eligible women have joined these new associations, those who have are enthusiastic, eager to bring new women in, and anxious to help found groups in localities where there are none; some have even taken on--almost as a second voluntary, full-time job--the work of organizing networks of women. The seventies have been characterized as the "me decade." Not the sector we studied. For women in government it has been the "us decade." Theirs have been among the most energetic and spirited self-help groups of the seventies.

Where there is so much combining of individual energies, there is invariably a set of common needs that can be met only by group action. The problems women in governmental service confront are numerous. Virtually all of them are related either to patterns of gender-based discrimination that easily seep from society-at-large into governmental offices, or to departures

from those patterns.

Changed patterns are revealed most dramatically in the "firsts" of the decade. Ella Grasso of Connecticut became the first woman governor; Nancy Landon Kassebaum of Kansas became the first women U.S. Senator who did not follow her husband into office; San Jose, San Antonio, and Chicago elected their first women mayors; Mary Louise Smith became the first woman to chair the national Republican party, and in the Democratic party Barbara Jordan was the first female keynote speaker at a national convention; Anne Armstrong became the first woman ambassador to the Court of St. James; and Margaret Costanza became the first woman Assistant to the President. Moving from the federal sector and large urban areas to the small towns and rural areas, we find the pattern repeats itself--in mayors' and city manager's offices and on town councils all over the country women took their places as leaders for the first time.

So some obstacles to women's full participation in their government have been overcome. On the other hand, there is evidence that some barriers are as formidable as ever. Despite the gains, by 1979 women still accounted for only an estimated 10 percent of elected officials and a mere 4.5 percent of appointed city managers or chief administrative officers nationwide.[1] True, women represent 35.3 percent of the federal full-time, permanent work force, a figure that at first glance might suggest near-equality. However, an examination of grade levels reveals that women serve their government mostly in the

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[1]Figure for elected officials taken from the Center for the American Woman and Politics' National Information Bank on Women in Public Life. Figure for municipal managers from The Municipal Year Book 1979 compiled by the International City Management Association, Washington, D.C., 286.

lowest ranks.[2] Within the context of government service, women for the most part serve men--as secretaries, as clerks, as assistants.

Because this is a time of transition, a time both of major breakthrough and stubborn resistance, women in government face a double burden. They must simultaneously work to eliminate the old barriers while suffering the discomforts of explorers as they enter territory formerly closed to them. Our report focuses upon these barriers and discomforts and women's organized response to them. Even that response, as we shall see, exposes new barriers.

Major Barriers

Because women are breaking into areas once closed to them, there are few experienced women already on hand to act as guides. And because our culture has long defined women in roles subservient to men, neither women nor men know how to act toward each other as colleagues. We have yet to work out the manners of equality.

Much that comes without thought or effort to a white man elected to a governmental body already made up of others like himself, comes not at all or only through special effort to a woman, especially if she is the first of her kind to join that assembly. A man holding his first elective position will be taught the ropes by those who preceded him; a woman holding her first elective position seldom has an experienced mentor available to her. Should there be men of good will present, men ready to initiate her into the mysteries of her new assignments, they are often discouraged by a social environment that is quick to misinterpret male-female relationships.

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[2] "Employment of Women and Minorities in the Federal Service--A Special Report," (Office of Personnel Management, August 6, 1979), lists the following percentages of women permanent non-postal employees in the federal government as of November 30, 1978 by GS rank: GS 1-8/68.8 percent; GS 9-12/24.1 percent; GS 13-15/6.3 percent; GS 16-18/3.6 percent.

If at first women miss out on the informal teaching relationships that most men enjoy, they miss out subsequently on the long-term benefits of colleagueship. As women scale governmental hierarchies, they enter ranks ever more predominantly male. Their uniqueness as females makes them seem at once less legitimate and more obtrusive. Women new to public service speak longingly of mentors; higher ranking women speak of "support systems"; almost all women in government learn quickly that they must reach out to each other.

Networking

Reaching out is not an easy process. Because there are so few women in government and they are so widely dispersed geographically, women must make a special effort to find each other; they must work intentionally to create for themselves the sort of helpful associations that have long come to men as a natural outgrowth of their regular work. Thus women have had to invent new ways to do something that among men is an old practice. Women call their new activities "networking."

But, if networking is an answer, it is also a problem--one that reveals itself in the word. "Networking," a verb describing the action of human beings setting up a net-like pattern of associations, is a usage so young it has not yet made its way into a dictionary. As a noun it has been used mainly to refer to the undercover associations of spies. Nonetheless, women in government use it all the time to signify an activity that is very much above board. It invariably appears either in the titles of women's organizations or in their lists of goals and purposes.

Men in government have been networking at the public expense ever since the first Constitutional Convention. For although the formal purpose of that

gathering was to found a nation, the informal by-product was a men's network--a group of men familiar with each other and able to communicate on the basis of that familiarity in order to solve problems of government, to assist in each other's careers, to call on each other for answers to questions, and to share the benefits of each other's expertise in different areas.

The major difference between what men have been doing since our country's founding and what women are trying to do today is that men's networking activities have always been informal, while women's are formal. Men's networks develop over a lifetime as a by-product of familial, educational, professional and work-related associations. Formed gradually through individual introductions, they are private subgroups within institutions established for other purposes. The schools, governmental bodies, professional associations, and public interest organizations that have long been the locus of male networks are now almost all open to women. However, the informal networks generated within them are not.

Because women are excluded from these already existing subgroups, because they cannot in the normal course of their work as state legislators, county commissioners, selectpersons, councilwomen, city managers and the like develop associations that would speed their way and quickly provide them with professional information, women must render formal and intentional what has been for men informal and casual. They must build rapidly, purposefully, plurally and publicly the sort of mutual-help relationships that men have built slowly, fortuitously, singly, and privately.

In the process women invariably bring long-hidden, slightly-suspect activities into the open and attempt to make them legitimate. Although networks

are a practical necessity in the performance of official duties, such relationships fly in the face of our standards of objectivity, fairness, openness, and merit as the basis for carrying out the public's business. The networking that women attempt exposes this inherent contradiction in our system.

It is in the nature of networking to imbue the serious with the social. Thus it has traditionally been promoted in settings designed for lighter moments--in restuarants, bars, clubs, and hotels--places that are private, not public. Women's new form of networking also aims at mixing the serious with the social. A large part of the programs of women's networking organizations are the breakfasts, lunches, and wine-and-cheese get-togethers they sponsor. Because these activities are public, not private, and because they occur in large groupings, not small ones, they lend to women's public activities an aura of frivolity and unimportance. Moreover, although women's way of going about their networking is in fact a less exclusive and more democratic process than are most of the networking activities of men, it often appears to be willful self-segregation.

To make matters still more difficult, women's networks seldom receive the public financial support enjoyed by many of their male counterparts. Male networks are fostered at lunches, clubs, meetings, and conventions that are part of their work roles. Thus, the related expenses are usually covered by public budgets. As often as not, women's networking activities are paid for by the women themselves. Thus, their organizations usually are hampered by skimpy and inadequate financial resources.

In spite of all these difficulties, women's networking organizations continue to proliferate. It was these networks that our project focused upon. We looked at the new women's groups forming within the public interest

organizations; at groups that concentrated around different levels of government--the federal, the state, the county and the municipal; at national organizations and statewide ones; and at groups for elected and for administrative women.

This is a report of their progress. Part One will describe the various patterns of organization, using as examples some of the more developed groups. Part Two will examine the reasons women are organizing and the most common problems their organizations face. Part Three will review the achievements and frustrations of the groups. And Part Four will outline the continuing struggle as women see it, and will suggest some new ways to solve old problems. Most of the solutions have come from the women officials themselves; some have occurred solely to the researchers. At the end of this report are two Appendices. Appendix One examines the photographs in one organization's brochure. It shows how a discriminatory message seeps into publications of institutions, even those that are strongly oriented toward equality. Appendix Two lists the women's organizations and the persons to contact for further information about each. The organizations are first listed according to the patterns outlined in Part One. Then there are two alphabetical listings--one for organizations of women in elective positions and the other for organizations of women in appointive/administrative positions.

We hope that at least some of the suggestions here and in CAWP's companion report of program options ("Changing the Opportunity Structure for Women in the Public Sector") will become action. For the issue is not only ideological, it is practical: inequality is debilitating; it is expensive; it is wasteful. In the years to come, years that most economists warn will require much belt-tightening, inequality may be a luxury our nation can ill afford. If we are to meet the challenges ahead, we will have to permit our most talented and energetic citizens to serve their government in positions where their gifts and strengths can be put to best use. We can no longer afford to relegate more than half of them, simply on the basis of their sex, to subordinate positions.

I. WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE: STATE OF THE ART

Women have begun banding together on virtually every possible geographic basis--national, regional, statewide, and local. They have formed organizations within existing institutions (for example, caucuses in legislatures and committees in public interest groups), and they have founded freestanding associations. There are women's organizations that are broadly based, cutting across jurisdictional and functional lines, and there are those that are narrowly based, serving women at only one governmental level or in a single job classification. Finally, some organizations are incorporated while others are casual and informal.

To give a picture of these variegated patterns of organization, we shall choose the most developed examples, by type, and describe them in detail. Following a standard format, we shall first give a bit of historical background, then list the organization's stated goals, explain its structure, describe its program, and conclude with a listing of other organizations that appear to be following the same pattern.

Starting with the statewide organization, we shall move from the broadly based to the narrowly based. From there we proceed to the women's committees within national public interest organizations, then on to women's groups in professional associations. Next we shall turn to organizations at the federal level, dealing first with the official committees, then with membership organizations and finally with the more informal networks that have coalesced within particular agencies and in the Washington, D.C. area itself; and with unions; following that, organizations of national and state legislators. We shall conclude with research and training centers associated with educational institutions and a brief note on the Presidential Management Intern Program.[3]

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[3] See Appendix II for a listing of organizations, their addresses, key personnel, and telephone numbers.

A. The Statewide Organization

Among statewide organizations, the two in California are the oldest and most fully developed. They are California Elected Women's Association for Education and Research (CEWAER) and California Women in Government (CWIG).

California Elected Women's Association for Education and Research (CEWAER)

Background

The California Elected Women's Association for Education and Research (CEWAER) is prototypical. When the elected women of Maryland decided to organize in 1978, they called on Sue Hone, CEWAER's president, to speak to them about the goals and benefits of a statewide elected women's organization.

CEWAER was formed in 1974 by about a dozen elected women officials, including former Congresswoman Yvonne Braithwaite Burke, Secretary of State March Fong Eu, two mayors and several councilwomen, county commissioners and county supervisors.

Goals

The stated goals are to encourage other women to run for political office and to provide a forum for women in public office. Although they first came together at a meeting of the California League of Cities, the members' intention from the first was to cut across jurisdictional lines and be an umbrella organization for California's elected women at all levels.

Structures

The organization has two membership categories: members (elected women) and associate members (non-elected women and men with full membership privileges except voting status). All together there were about 500 members

in 1978, and recently several regional chapters have formed.

Officers include a president, a first and second vice president, a secretary-treasurer, six directors and a part-time executive director, all serving one-year terms. In large part, the organization is dependent on its president. Her office is its office and CEWAER relies heavily on the support services she can bring to it. The board meets three times a year to set broad policy for the organization; in addition, each board member takes on some special responsibility. The executive director is responsible for getting out a quarterly newsletter and keeping up with correspondence, bookkeeping, and members.

CEWAER's funds of about $10,000 per year come almost entirely from its dues of fifteen dollars per year. Much of the money goes as salary ($300 per month) to CEWAER's part-time executive director, who, so far, has also served on the president's governmental staff, working out of her official office. The rest defrays costs of a newsletter published four times per year, a directory of members, an annual meeting, board meetings, and general operations.

Program

The newsletter is key to the organization. Each issue includes interviews with elected women officials, book reviews, a listing of women candidates in the state, a rundown on current issues of interest to women before the state legislature, and notices of national reports, organizations and events of special interest to CEWAER's membership. Thus the newsletter is an important device in CEWAER's all-pervasive activity--networking. It gives California's elected women a vehicle through which

the experienced can easily share their knowledge with women new to political office; and it offers women a sense of mutual accessibility, so that women know whom they can call on for information and support.

Another major part of CEWAER's program is its annual meeting. In 1978 it was held in the state capital, Sacramento, where over 100 members attended the three day meeting. Five main aspects of the program were: opportunities to meet with others at meals and cocktail parties; sessions with state government officials; a Thursday evening banquet at which Midge Costanza was the guest speaker; an assertiveness training workshop led by Kay Waldo; and the yearly business meeting and election of officers.

In addition to its own annual meeting CEWAER uses statewide meetings of other organizations of elected officials, such as the California League of Cities, as opportunities to sponsor social and substantive programs. These and a variety of local CEWAER programs are often co-sponsored with black or Chicano organizations as it is part of CEWAER's program to work cooperatively with minority elected officials.

Similar Organizations

In 1978 Maryland followed the CEWAER example, and by mid-1979 organizations similar to CEWAER were forming in other states, including New Jersey, and Texas.

California Women in Government (CWIG)

Background

About the time CEWAER was forming, another California organization--this one for administrative women in government--was also being organized.

According to Sally Gutierrez, its second chair and one of CWIG's five founders, "anyone starting a women's organization needs a base to help with the start-up costs--the staff support, mailing, a place to work from, that sort of help. The School of Public Administration of the University of Southern California was the fertile ground from which CWIG grew. They gave the staff and moral support CWIG needed." There is now no direct relationship between CWIG and the School, but the latter continues to strongly support CWIG's goals.

Goals

"To provide a forum for increased communication and mutual support among women in professional positions; to provide opportunities for professional development; and to enhance the position of professional women in government."

Structure

Like CEWEAR, CWIG serves women at all levels of government, most of its funds come from members' dues, and its office is the office of its chair, moving as chairpersons succeed each other. Unlike CEWAER, CWIG has from the beginning been divided between a northern and a southern chapter. It has only one category of membership and has no paid staff (although it has had the help of an intern and a CETA worker).

Program

CWIG's major contribution, and a large drain on its budget, is a weekly listing of job openings that is mailed to members. At first out-of-state and Federal jobs in Washington, D.C. were included, but the costs for that became too high; now, with the exception of a few outstanding out-of-state opportunities, the listings are limited to California. They focus on

jobs at middle and upper management levels--city managers and assistants, department heads, line managers--with a few entry level and technical listings. Recently positions that women seldom hold, such as engineer, fire or police chief have been added. Included with the listings are announcements of upcoming conferences and meetings.

CWIG also publishes a quarterly newsletter and a directory of members that is cross-referenced by the members' area of expertise and geographic locality.

About four times a year CWIG runs workshops for its members. These have ranged in subject from personal skills development to such technical and professional topics as econometric modeling and zero-based budgeting.

Two unique CWIG projects are its speakers' bureau and its mentorship program. CWIG's membership includes women whose expertise covers nearly every phase of governmental administration. Through the speakers' bureau these women have been called upon as panelists and lecturers to such groups as the American Society for Public Administration and the International City Management Association.

In the spring of 1979 CWIG tried out a pilot mentorship program whereby experienced women administrators assisted less experienced women in their area of expertise. In the fall the program will be opened to all members but will be most accessible to women in the Los Angeles area.

Similar Organizations

Other states with organizations of administrative women include Michigan, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Arizona. Michigan has two organizations which are formally established: one for women in municipal management, Michigan Women in Public Management; and the other for women in state administration, Women in State Government.

Women Elected Municipal Officials (WEMO)

Background

While in some states women's organizations are following the California pattern, encompassing the entire range of elective or administrative posts, others are organizing along jurisdictional lines. In Massachusetts, for example, women state legislators are organized into one group, the Women's Legislative Caucus, while women in municipal positions are organized into another, Women Elected Municipal Officials (WEMO). At first WEMO included all women in municipal government, but within a year it changed to an organization made up exclusively of elected officials.

Goals

WEMO's stated goals are as follows: to get more women officials appointed to committees of WEMO's parent organization (the Massachusetts Municipal Association (MMA), formerly the Massachusetts League of Cities and Towns), and to commissions appointed by the Governor; to establish a communications network among elected women municipal officials in the commonwealth; and to help women acquire the skills and knowledge necessary for their positions.

Structure

WEMO is a standing committee of the Massachusetts Municipal Association, which is itself a member organization of the National League of Cities (NLC). Thus, WEMO is a part of the MMA, and it is also affiliated with the NLC-based women's organization, Women in Municipal Government (of which more following this report on WEMO). As a standing committee of the MMA, WEMO receives staff assistance and use of office facilities.

In addition to its officers, WEMO has a long list of committee chairpersons who carry out the organization's tasks.

Program

A listing of some of WEMO's committees gives a clue to its diverse activities. WEMO has a committee to work at each of the following tasks: a directory, a telephone network, a statistical survey of Massachusetts elected women, a list of likely candidates to present to appointing authorities of the MMA and the Commonwealth, a grant proposal for a study of the elected women of the Commonwealth, and various presentations including one on emerging women in local government and another on WEMO itself. Key to WEMO's operation is a series of monthly meetings at locations throughout the state. The meetings follow a standard format: opening with a state legislative report that brings bills related to municipal government to members' attention, the meeting moves onto subcommittee reports. From these members turn to a decision on where and when to hold future meetings and what topics they should include. With this business complete, the meeting begins its main program which usually includes one or more invited speakers.

Legislative issues taken up by WEMO have included municipal liability, federal safety standards, local aid, and binding arbitration. Occasionally WEMO has acted as a lobby. It did so in opposition to a state bill that would have compelled binding arbitration for municipal workers. WEMO members went from their regular monthly meeting to the state legislature to call on legislators. It also activated its telephone network at that time to urge members to write letters to their legislators to defeat compulsory and binding arbitration.

There has developed an informal liaison between WEMO and the Women's Legislative Caucus, but at the same time WEMO keeps its distance. As one

member put it: "WEMO was not formed to support women's legislation. It ought to work with the Caucus on WEMO concerns which are not just women's concerns."

Thus, though WEMO is a women's organization, it is not restricted to or even primarily devoted to issues generally deemed "women's." That cornerstone policy is reflected in the topics chosen for the main part of WEMO's monthly meetings. These have included unemployment compensation, citizens participation committees, transportation, the donated funds program, and "how to" sessions such as how to lobby effectively, write a better resume, and run a reelection campaign.

WEMO has no official publication, but the minutes of its meetings are circulated to the membership each month.

Similar Groups

WEMO was the first state organization of elected women in municipal government to be formed after women caucused at the National League of Cities meeting in 1975; it is more fully developed than organizations in other states. However, similar organizations are growing in Georgia, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oregon and Washington.

B. Women's Organizations in National Public Interest Groups

National League of Cities (NLC)--Women in Municipal Government (WIMG)

Background

At the NLC meeting in Houston in 1974 several women joined forces to form a caucus. Theirs was the first special interest caucus to materialize within the NLC, but now there are several others--small cities, Hispanic, black, capital cities, Republicans, and Democrats.

Goals

The main purpose of the women's caucus is to encourage the inclusion of women in NLC policymaking. A second goal is to promote issues of interest to women, and a third is to develop a network of women municipal officials throughout the fifty states.

Structure

Women in Municipal Government (WIMG), as the caucus is called, is given some assistance by the NLC staff. But NLC has budgeted only about $5,000 for all its caucuses, and no staff time is specifically set aside for service to caucuses. Sympathetic staff members sandwich help to WIMG between their official duties.

The WIMG board has five officers and a regional representative from each of the ten federal regions. They meet twice yearly. WIMG has been building slowly, as more of its programs are included in NLC's national and regional meetings, and as women in municipal government form state organizations such as WEMO under the NLC umbrella.

Program

Most of WIMG's activities are held in conjunction with regional and annual meetings of the National League of Cities. It has sponsored workshops on such topics as strategies for working with other local officials, improving political skills, and developing public relations techniques. At the 1979 Annual Congressional-City Conference of the NLC, WIMG held its business meeting and sponsored a breakfast workshop. The directors of the National Women's Education Fund and the Center for the American Woman and Politics, along with Jessie M. Rattley, NLC First Vice President, spoke on the problems of staying in the political mainstream and on ways to seek leadership positions in NLC.

In 1979 WMIG began a series of occasional articles in NLC's publication, Nation's Cities Weekly. The first article, by WIMG chairperson, Mary Neuhauser described the organization, giving some history and plans and concluding with an appeal for women to work for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Similar Groups

More fully developed in some ways, but less so in others, is the women's group within the National Association of Counties (NACo), Women Officials in NACo. It is not organized into regions, nor is it trying to develop a network of affiliated women's groups in every state. On the other hand, it conducts a fuller program than WIMG does at annual meetings and receives more recognition from its parent organization. That recognition comes in the form of limited authorized staff support and ten at-large positions on the NACo Board of Directors that are used to give balance to the board when normal election procedures result in too few women or minority members. Unlike most other women's groups within larger organizations, Women Officials in NACo

maintains close ties with the black and other minority caucuses within NACo; it was in coalition with those groups that it worked for and won the recognition it now enjoys from the parent organization.

(The women's group within the National Conference of State Legislatures will be discussed under category E, "Organizations of National and State Legislators.")

C. Women's Organizations Within Professional Associations

International City Management Association (ICMA)--Women in Management Subcommittee (WIMS) and Women's Coordinator, Minority Executive Placement Program (MEPP)

Background

With its full-time Women's Coordinator ICMA stands out among public interest and professional groups as the one with the most well-developed and generously supported women's program.[4] In 1974 ICMA created its Minority Executive Placement Program in order to help place minorities as administrators in local governments. In 1976 that program was expanded to include women, and in 1978 the placement program received a grant from the Ford Foundation to publish a quarterly newsletter and to support the advisory committee on women, the ICMA Women in Management Subcommittee, that had been previously established by ICMA in 1977.

Goals

The primary goal of the women's coordinator and the subcommittee is to recruit women into the profession and assist in their advancement in local governmental management.

Structure

WIMS is a sub-group of the Minority Executive Placement Advisory Board of ICMA and its fourteen members are appointed by the Advisory Board Chair. A staff member hired by ICMA for the Minority Executive Placement Program is designated as the women's coordinator and staffs WIMS as part of her duties.

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[4]As this report went to press, we learned that funding for the full-time Women's Coordinator position was to be discontinued as of October 1979.

Program

The subcommittee and the coordinator meet periodically to discuss problems both within the organization and in the field and to search for solutions; to review progress; and to plan programs. The coordinator carries out the day-to-day activities of the women's program.

As ICMA's first full-time women's coordinator, Nancy Foye has worked within the placement program to bring municipalities looking for administrators together with women prepared to take on those jobs. To do this she has developed an extensive file of women in municipal management and she keeps abreast of professional opportunities for them throughout the country. A key element of the coordinator's work is the development and maintenance of statistical data in municipal management. In the process of developing these data and making the contacts necessary to the placement program, Nancy Foye has become an important link in the developing informal network of women in public management. She keeps in close communication with leaders of women's groups in other professional and public interest associations and is thereby able to develop opportunities for cooperative programs.

Unlike most others, the women of ICMA have available to them a full-time staff person. Consequently they enjoy some special services--a placement service, a newsletter (Public Management Woman), accurate data collection, and a constantly available place to turn for introductions to persons who can offer information and advice.

Other aspects of the ICMA women's program are similar to those of most other women's sections, committees or caucuses within public interest or professional organizations. Members of WIMS, along with Nancy Foye, do what they

can to increase the participation of women in all aspects of ICMA--its task forces, planning and policy committees, and conference executive committee. Like NACo, ICMA has increased its board of directors so that formerly unrepresented groups can be accommodated. Unlike NACo, where the ten at-large positions are specifically designed to lend racial and gender balance to the elected board, ICMA's two at-large positions are specifically directed, not to achieve gender or racial balance, but to open its decision making process to all voting members.[5] ICMA had a complicated hierarchy of membership categories that permitted only experienced city managers to run for policy-making positions. Now, with the two at-large positions available, some lower-ranking categories of members are eligible for board positions. Partly because women and minorities are more numerous in the lower categories, the at-large positions have so far been filled by women and minority members.

Other Women's Groups Within Professional Organizations

The American Institute of Planners, which recently merged with the American Society of Planning Officials to form the American Planning Association, has had a committee on Women in Planning since 1971. Its first accomplishment was a 1973 statement of AIP policy specifying that "the planning profession is equally open to women and men" and including in its Rules of Professional Responsibility guidelines for equal hiring, pay, benefits and educational practices. It also set a two-year target for measuring compliance with those guidelines. A few years later a report by an AIP/ASPO Joint Committee on Women's Rights indicated that of the 27 AIP chapters that responded to the Committee's questionnaire (several chapters did not respond) only eleven had met the 1973 goal of having at least 20 percent of planning positions filled by women.

[5]Although the numerical difference is great, there is little proportional difference between NACo and ICMA. NACo added ten at-large positions to a 100 member board; ICMA added two to a fifteen member board.

Most recently the women in APA have turned their interest to substantive issues in the theory and practice of their profession, and a Women's Issues Task Force has received AIP support to work on a report to be presented at the 1979 annual meeting of APA.

Much younger than the Women in Planning group at APA and still struggling to take shape is the executive Committee for Women of the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA). Women at ASPA have a hospitality room, present workshops, and hold meetings at ASPA's annual meetings. They are preparing a directory of women members in public management and a film to encourage women to enter public administration. In addition, the committee has recently re-published for general distribution "The Right Work: Guidelines for Avoiding Sex-Biased Language" and makes available grants of $200 each to local ASPA chapters to sponsor programs on women in the profession. Like the National League of Cities, ASPA has local chapters and women's groups have formed or are forming within them. The most active and best received of these local groups is the one within the Washington, D.C. chapter.

Also, there is a women's group within the American Society for Training and Development and the National Association of Housing Redevelopment Officials.

D. Organizations at the Federal Level

There are several modes of organization in Washington, D.C. They range from the official Interdepartmental Task Force on Women headed by White House Special Assistant Sarah Weddington, to the unofficial informal gatherings of the Washington Women's Network. They also range from broad, umbrella-type organizations such as Federally Employed Women to the narrowly based single agency networks such as the "brown bag lunches" at HUD.

All of them have the same general goal: to foster equality in federal employment and policy. Each, however, works toward that goal in a different way, with different emphases, or with a different constituency. For instance, there are four umbrella-type groups--the Federal Women's Program, Federally Employed Women, the Washington Women's Network, and the Interdepartmental Task Force on Women. The Federal Women's Program is an official structure with a central office in Washington and a dispersed workforce designed to work within government agencies to help enforce the president's order prohibiting sex discrimination. Federally Employed Women is a voluntary membership organization that tries to accomplish the common goal through lobbying, pamphleteering, training and counseling of members. It also represents complainants in discrimination actions. Washington Women's Network is a more informal grouping aimed at providing women in the Washington, D.C. area with opportunities to meet each other. And the Interdepartmental Task Force on Women, which like the Federal Women's Program is federally sponsored, reviews proposed policies and advises decision-makers to help reform old policies and construct new ones so that they will better reflect women's interests.

In this section we shall take a closer look at these unbrella organizations, concluding the description of each with a briefer look at other organizations whose structures and programs are similar to the umbrellas' but whose constituency or scope is narrower. Finally, we shall examine federal employees unions, focusing on a woman's office within one of those unions.

Offices of the Federal Government: Federal Women's Program (FWP)*

Background

Starting in 1954 with a Task Force of the federal Personnel Council, the federal government has in one way or another paid some attention to inequalities faced by women in federal employment. That first task force addressed an issue that still resists resolution--part-time employment.

A second try at fairness came in 1961 and was far more successful. Then President Kennedy appointed the first Commission on the Status of Women. Headed by Eleanor Roosevelt, it looked at the practice of gender labeling for job openings. Federal jobs were commonly listed as either for men only or for women only, with no requirement that any explanation be given for such designation. In 1962, at the request of the President's Commission, the Civil Service began to ask agencies to give a reason for their preference. The result of that small change was enormous. In 1960, 73 percent of requests for certificates for the Federal Service Entrance Examination were for a single sex (56% male, 17% female); after the reporting requirements were instituted the percentage of single sex requests dropped to less than one percent. Moreover, the nature of the explanations for that one percent turned out to be so flagrantly prejudicial that in 1962 legitimate reasons for requesting one sex or the other were reduced to two. Before 1962 jobs that were monotonous, detailed, repetitious, and had limited advancement

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*NOTE: Attempts to speak with the director of the Federal Women's Program, were unsuccessful. The information here is drawn from FWP publications and interviews with women in federal employment.

possibilities were reserved for women, while jobs that were arduous or hazardous, and required travel, rotating assignments or contact with the public or particular groups were reserved for men. After 1962 only certain custodial positions and those requiring the carrying of a gun were legitimately limited to one sex. (A decade later, in May 1971, that last restriction was removed, opening many law enforcement jobs to women.)

When the 1962 commission had completed its term, President Kennedy formed an Interdepartmental Committee on the Status of Women composed of cabinet secretaries and the chairman of the Civil Service Commission. In response to its recommendation, the Federal Women's Program was established in 1964.

The inactivity and slow growth of the Federal Women's Program during most of its first decade contrasts sharply with its growth and activities in the seventies. Spurred largely by women who wanted enforcement of the 1967 Executive Order 11375, which prohibits sex discrimination in the federal government, the program grew from six full-time Federal Women's Program Coordinators in 1970 to over 50 in 1979. In addition, there are now about 10,000 part-time managers and committee members in federal agencies around the world.

Goals

The FWP goal is simply stated in its publication Putting Women in Their Place: "to improve employment and advancement opportunities for women in the federal service."

Structure

To achieve that goal the Federal Women's Program has a two-tier structure--a central office (the Office of the Federal Women's Program, OFWP) which is a part of the Office of Personnel Management, and the government-wide Federal Women's Program, whose 10,000-plus full- and part-time managers work in federal U.S. agencies throughout the world.

Program

The Office of the Federal Women's Program provides policy guidance, advice and information for FWP managers. With such a broadly dispersed network of managers, most of the central office's leadership comes in the form of statements promulgated during its annual meeting and in its publications. Once a month OFWP publishes a newsletter, Women in Action. Each issue concentrates on some aspect of federal employment that relates particularly to women. For instance, the subjects covered in the first five months of 1979 were: the relationship between FWP managers and public-sector unions; women in law enforcement; the impact of civil service reform on the FWP; women in blue-collar federal employment; and federal child care centers. The newsletter also carries announcements of new programs in the federal service, FWP policy guidelines, and a regular "Resource Review" listing publications related to the women's program. Other OFWP publications include a handbook for FWP managers; a career counseling handbook; and a speaker's guide.

In addition to the assistance it gives FWP managers, the office works to influence federal policy as it relates to the employment of women. Its director meets regularly with top management in the Office of Personnel Management and with leaders in other government agencies. The director is

also responsible for monitoring legislation as it is proposed and later implemented in order to identify and try to remove barriers to the full employment of women.

Some of the work of the OFWP is carried out by task forces it sponsors. These include: the Minority Women's Task Force; the Task Force for Women in Law Enforcement, the Task Force on the U.N. Decade for Women, and the Task Force for Women in Science and Technology.

With its managers spread through the federal service, FWP hopes to move agencies toward full and equal employment of women. To do this, managers identify barriers to employment of women and then draft plans to overcome those barriers which they present to agency heads for implementation. FWO managers also offer career counseling to women in their agency

Offices of the Federal Government: Interdepartmental Task Force on Women (ITFW)

Background

This most recent Interdepartmental Task Force on Women was established by Executive Order in April, 1978. It held its first meeting on December 5, 1978.

Goals

The purpose of the task force is to insure that the needs of women are recognized and incorporated into federal policies and programs. According to its first assistant director, Sandy Casber, "What we want to do is encourage policymakers to think about the impact of their decisions on women."

Structure

The Task Force is chaired by Sarah Weddington, senior level Special Assistant to the President. Policy level representatives from 86 agencies

and departments in the Executive Branch make up the Steering Committee which meets quarterly. Professional and clerical staff detailed to the Task Force from federal agencies with Task Force members carry out its programs and day-to-day work.

Program

The Task Force is still selecting issues and developing a program. At its first Steering Committee meeting the group decided to focus primarily on economic issues, and within that broad subject to concentrate on seven major policy areas, one of which is issues relating to women in federal employment. The Task Force then divided itself into seven issue subgroups.

The thirty-member subgroup working on women in federal employment met once in April and again in May (1979) to further narrow their issue of concentration. They decided that the problem most needful of their efforts was the precipitous drop in the percentage of women employed at middle management levels (GS 12-15). Their plan was to prepare a presentation for the President and the cabinet that would bring the problem to their attention, and to suggest remedies. Two remedies they are exploring with particular care are a program to give merit pay to supervisors who develop and effectively implement affirmative action plans (they are coordinating this activity with the Office of Personnel Management), and a review of the selection criteria used to place individuals in middle management positions, so that those criteria that put women at a disadvantage can be identified and changed.

The subgroup then reduced itself to an "action" group of eight. They had four working sessions during which they worked on problems of goal

setting and achievement and also tried to develop ways in which supervisors could be held responsible for discriminatory employment practices in their offices. During the summer of 1979 the Task Force's staff member, Betty Caldwell, had to return to her agency (HUD) and a number of members went on their summer vacations. According to the assistant director, Stacy Dean, who replaced Sandy Casber in the spring, "the group hit a snag then and has not gotten together."

One difficulty the Task Force has in completing its mission is a lack of permanent staff. There are only four permanent slots--everyone else is detailed from other agencies for short periods. As Stacy Dean put it, "That does create problems of continuity. When the staff person has to go back to her agency, the topic she was working on gets dropped until someone takes her place."

Similar Groups

Other federal task forces and advisory committees include: the National Advisory Committee for Women; the Interagency Task Force on Indian Women; International Women's Programs (Department of State); Intradepartmental Coordinating Committee on Women (DOL); the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs (HEW); Secretary's Advisory Committee on Rights and Responsibilities of Women (HEW); Task Force on Sex Discrimination (Justice); Women's Bureau/Bureau of Apprenticeship Training Task Force on Women in Apprenticeships (DOL) and Advisory Committee on Women in the Service (Department of Defense).

Voluntary and Membership Associations: Federally Employed Women (FEW)

Background

Federally Employed Women was conceived out of frustrations due to early inactivity of FWP and the hopes raised by Executive Order 11375, which in 1967 added sex to other forms of prohibited discrimination. Originating in small meetings of women in the Washington, D.C., area during the summer of 1968, FEW has grown into an international organization with a central office in Washington and more than 170 chapters in 42 states and six foreign countries.

Goals

Dorothy E. Nelms, president of FEW, and Diane C. Herrmann, director of the Federal Women's Program, issued a joint statement on January 1, 1979, in which they set forth the relationship between their two organizations and declared that their goals were the same--to "eliminate sex discrimination in employment in the federal sector."

Structure

FEW is a private membership organization with a governing board, an executive committee, fifteen standing committees, ten regional and over 170 local chapters. It holds an annual general meeting, five yearly meetings of the executive committee and frequent regional and local meetings.

FEW has three membership categories: regular (open to current and former employees of the federal government and the District of Columbia Government); associate (open to anyone who supports the aims of FEW); and honorary (awarded to persons selected by the Executive Committee). Regular and associate members must formally join the organization and pay dues, and associate members do not have the right to vote or hold elective office.

Program

FEW's activities are varied. It has lobbied and testified on legislation, including the Equal Rights Amendment, veterans preference, and equal credit opportunities; it has joined in third-party complaints and class actions fighting discrimination; it has worked closely with the Office of Personnel Management to change discriminatory employment policies, support and set standards for the FWP, and review proposed standards, qualifications and specifications for federal employment. It has also published several training handbooks and informational pamphlets covering such subjects as the Freedom of Information Act, the Privary Act, and The Equal Employment Opportunity Complaint System. FEW also publishes a bi-montly newsletter, News & Views.

Similar Groups

FEW is the "only national membership organization solely dedicated to the removal of sex discrimination and promotion of equality in the federal government."

Voluntary and Membership Associations: Washington Women's Network

Background and Goals

In the late nineteen seventies, women coming to Washington, D.C. to work in the new Carter administration felt a need to meet peers in agencies other than their own. They wanted to exchange information, give each other support, keep abreast of public policy issues and stimulate recruitment of women executives into government jobs. They wanted to do all this informally without having to form yet another organization the maintenance of which would further burden women whose time was overcommitted.

Structure

The result was the Washington Women's Network. A loosely structured organization with an executive committee and a secretariat--the National Women's Education Fund. The Network is open to any woman who wishes to participate and to contribute $25 to cover expenses. Currently most of the Network's 700 paid participants work in the federal government or in private sector firms that are connected with the government.

Program

The Network runs three events a month. These are mostly informal after-work wine-and-cheese or luncheon get-togethers. Most recently the Network has taken a somewhat more formal turn by devoting one of its monthly programs to discussion with guest speakers of a specific policy issue. The first three issues taken up were social security, health, and education.

Similar Groups

There are no other umbrella-type informal groupings in the Washington, D.C. area, but within several agencies women have arranged for regular--usually lunchtime--informal gatherings. For instance, at HUD there are two informal networks--one for women at GS12 and above, and another for women at GS11 and below. At their frequent luncheon meetings as many as twenty-five women join to hear speakers, share information and discuss problems and solutions. In their joining together they have been helped by their agency's Federal Women's Program Manager who supplied them with lists of women working at HUD.

Unions: American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE)--Women's Affairs Department

Background

In 1974 AFGE became the first federal employees' union to establish a

women's affairs department.

Goal

"To improve the status of women in the federal government."

Structure

Within AFGE there is a National Women's Advisory Committee (NWAC) which consists of 15 members, one elected from each of AFGE's regional districts. The fifteen women on NAWC meet regularly to set the program for the Women's Affairs Department and within their districts they advise the Vice Presidents on matters having to do with women. In addition, each local elects a Women's Coordinator who works with local union officers and Federal Women's Program Managers to learn about the status of women at their agency and to identify patterns of discrimination with an eye toward eliminating them. Local Coordinators are also in communication with their NWAC representative who acts as a liaison between the locals and the Women's Affairs Department. At union headquarters there is a full-time director of the AFGE women's program, the only person in the system of NWAC representatives and Local Coordinators who does not carry a full-time job in addition to her women's program responsibilities.

Program

The program has four primary directions--toward women in the union, to provide them with leadership training and educational opportunities; toward Congress, to monitor legislation affecting women especially on issues of part-time and flexi-time work schedules, child care, pregnancy disability and national health security; toward the courts, where the Women's Affairs Department has monitored legal actions involving women in federal agencies;

and toward other groups with similar goals, where the Women's Affairs Department has participated in joint meetings and workshops.

Similar Groups

More than 100 unions represent federal workers. We do not have a listing of those with a Women's Affairs office at this time.

E. ORGANIZATIONS OF NATIONAL AND STATE LEGISLATORS

In this category we find the most and the least issue-oriented of women's organizations; the longest living organization and one or two that are struggling to come to life. We shall begin with the Congresswomen's Caucus and then move to two national organizations of state legislators--one formal and one informal--and then conclude with a caucus within a state legislature.

Congresswomen's Caucus

Background

In the spring of 1977, fifteen of the eighteen women in Congress joined together into a formal caucus. News stories announcing the event noted that while the formation of the caucus was "probably inevitable" in light of the several other caucuses in Congress (black, blue-collar, Spanish-speaking, Democratic Study Group, and Wednesday Group), it was long in coming because of fears both that the women would be divided rather than united on issues and that the organization would alienate male colleagues.

Shortly after they had organized their caucus, the Congresswomen spawned an auxiliary unit, the Congresswomen's Caucus Corporation, for research and education on issues relating to legislation and women.

Goals

As with all the other women's organizations, one of the key functions of the caucus, according to a member of Representative Elizabeth Holtzman's staff is "for the women in Congress to get to know each other--the more at ease Congresswomen feel with one another, the more they establish a mutual trust, the more likely they are to be able to work together."

The research arm of the Caucus was formally incorporated to "perform research and education on the impact of existing federal legislation which is important to women; monitor the administration of existing federal legislation which is important to women; encourage the hiring and appointment of women by the federal government; and perform research and education on a broad range of political, socioeconomic, educational, fiscal, and legal issues affecting women."

Structure

Leadership of the caucus is shared by a Republican and a Democratic Congresswoman. Its first co-chairs were Elizabeth Holtzman (D. NY) and Margaret Heckler (R. MA).

The Congresswomen's Caucus Corporation is incorporated as a non-profit, publicly supported, educational organization with tax exempt status. Seven members of the Caucus serve as its board of directors and there is a full-time executive director. The Caucus and its research corporation work out of an office in the Rayburn Building. It has received donations from individuals such as Stewart R. Mott, and Frances "Sissy" Farenthold; from labor unions such as United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers of America, and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers; from corporations such as Atlantic Richfield Co., General Foods Corp., Eastern Airlines, Campbell Soup Co., and the American Income Life Insurance Co. Such donations have ranged from $100 to a limit of $1,000 set by the Caucus. Explaining the limit, Betty Dooley, the executive director, said, "There is a kind of neutrality in the fact that the sources of money are extremely varied."

Program

To avoid splits within the Caucus a key ground rule--set at its inception--is that the Caucus will not take a stand on any issue that has not received the unanimous support of its members. Thus it has not dealt with so controversial an issue as abortion; but that leaves a long list of other issues to work on, as a review of the Caucus's activities will indicate.

Among its successes the Caucus lists: a study of inequities in the Social Security system ordered by former HEW secretary Joseph Califano; passage of the Federal Employee and Compressed Work Schedule Act and the Federal Employee Part-time Career Employment Act both increasing part-time and flexible-time employment opportunities; the addition of a provision in the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act to research the disproportionately higher rate of unempolyment for women and to develop programs and recommendations to remedy the problem; and an amendment to the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) to include women in the list of groups to receive compensatory training.

National Order of Women Legislators (OWLs)

Background

The National Order of Women Legislators (OWLs), the oldest organization of women in government that we know of, was founded in 1938.

Structure

OWLs is a membership organization made up of present and former women state legislators who pay dues of $10 per year. It has an elected president, president-elect, vice-president, recording secretary, corresponding

secretary, treasurer, and historian, and several appointed officers.

Goals

Its stated goals are "to kindle and promote a spirit of helpfulness among present and former women state legislators; to encourage greater participation of competent women in public affairs; to promote election or appointment of increasing numbers of competent women to public office; to promote interstate relations of friendship, and to act as a clearinghouse for information for the members of the order."

Additional Background and Program

OWL's primary activity is its annual meeting, and although for years the program at that meeting only helped to fulfill the first of the organization's goals, the organization has begun to change. As one member put it, "Up until '76, the conventions were pretty bad. They didn't do anything; it was really social. I went to the '76 meeting and I was really embarrassed to have my legislature pay for it because there was nothing substantive, not much that you learned. It was in New Jersey and we did visit the Port Authority, but that was about it. And they had a number of social events like luncheons and dinners that were underwritten by businesses and that gave me some concern, because then the legislators would be obligated."

Another member said, "The activities were more like the kinds of things organizations put on for spouses. I mean things like a J.C. Penney fashion show. And I remember one notice of a meeting in Fort Worth told of all the places we were going to visit and said to 'wear comfy shoes.'"

Although current legislators outnumber former legislators almost two to one (265 to 146, according to the 1976 directory) some of the sitting

legislators felt that most participants at the annual meetings were elderly, former legislators who enjoyed meeting old friends but were no longer interested in substantive issues.

In 1976 some of the women who were presently holding office got together and set out to "turn this organization around." Its 1979 President-elect, Pauline Menes, State Senator from Maryland said, "we're going to be changing the program in order to attract more sitting legislators to the meetings."

Similar Groups

There are chapters of OWL in several state legislatures. In addition there is a public interest group, the National Conference of State Legislatures within which a Women's Network is beginning to form and which in 1978 sponsored a Task Force on Gender Equity. The Women's Network is an informal group that since 1977 has sponsored breakfast meetings at NCSL national meetings during which issues of special interest to the network have been discussed. Problems raised at these breakfasts have focused primarily on the position of women legislators in NCSL, with discussion centering around the twin problems of getting more women onto the Executive Committee and getting issues of concern to women into the NCSL program. At the 1979 breakfast meeting, a short talk by Marilyn Ryan, the new president of CEWAER, was followed by a discussion among the nearly seventy members present. It centered around two of the most common problems women's networking organizations face: how to obtain funding, and whether or not organizations should be formed around issues. In addition, a legislator from Texas told of difficulties women in her state had in attracting women to meetings, and a legislator from South Dakota asked if there was any

way to quickly mobilize support for women's issues across state lines. The example she gave was rescission of ERA ratification in her state, and the solution was to have the office of NCSL staff assistant, Andrea Wollock serve as a central gathering place for networking information and contacts.

The Task Force on Gender Equity was created by the Executive Committee to study state statutes on sex discrimination and to prepare a report for the 1979 NCSL annual meeting.[6]

Women's Caucus of the Maryland Legislature

Background

The Women's Caucus of the Maryland Legislature grew out of the Maryland Chapter of OWL, and was generated by the disregard and abuse women delegates suffered in the Maryland legislature. A particularly insulting slight to Delegate Pauline Menes sparked the caucus. Early in the 1972 session of the legislature Delegate Menes rose to criticize the legislative leadership for failing to appoint women to important standing committees. The response from Speaker Thomas Hunter Lowe was the appointment of Delegate Menes to the chairmanship of a newly created Ladies Restroom Committee. Later when she tried to attend the weekly leadership meeting, Delegate Menes was sent away with the words, "You would make the men feel uncomfortable."

At the next meeting of the Maryland chapter of OWL, the women turned from the friendly socializing that was their wont to the concerted activism that was to become their stamp. They decided to form a caucus.

Goals

In their press release announcing the formation of the Caucus, the Delegates said they intended to meet regularly to "push for the recognition

[6]The report is available at nominal cost from Andrea Wollock, NCSL staff assistant to the Task Force.

of women for their abilities."

Structure

All the women members of the State Legislature are members of the Caucus. There is a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary and treasurer, no standing committees, but several ad hoc committees. The Caucus is funded through its members' interim expense account, from which each member is asked to contribute $100. Not all contribute that much but every member does contribute. Additional funds ($3,000 in 1978) are raised through an annual fundraiser. These funds are used primarily to pay staff which provides the Caucus with secretarial, research, and public relations services and also helps the Caucus coordinate its activities with other women's organizations throughout the state. For an office, the Caucus uses an alcove in a hall that was initially designed for copiers. "When they moved that equipment out," said Delegate Bert Booth, "we grabbed it. But we don't know how long that will last because there is a black caucus and a legislative study group that have no space and the situation gets ticklish."

Program

The Maryland Caucus is probably one of the most issue oriented of women's groups. It meets every week during the legislative session and every other week during the interim to develop a consensus on issues related to women and to plan for the support of favorable legislation and appointments of women. So far the Caucus has not introduced any legislation of its own, but according to Delegate Bert Booth, it might begin to do so in a couple of years or so. The Caucus, she said, has not been successful in getting

"ideal" legislation passed, but it has been very effective in preventing "bad" legislation from passing. It is not, however, merely a veto group: "male legislators who want to introduce legislation often come to our meetings to try to win our support," she said. The issues that the Caucus especially concerns itself with include: property rights, battered spouses, pension equity, the human relations commission, and rape and related sexual offenses. The Caucus has also achieved some success with appointments. In 1979 a woman was appointed for the first time to an important committee chairmanship and a woman became Majority Leader of the Senate.

In addition to its advocacy work, the Caucus helps to bring women's groups within the state together through meetings and written communications, and it has sponsored several wine-and-cheese get-togethers in the legislature to help caucus members and women staff members get to know each other.

A unique part of the Maryland program is its internship project. Started with a grant to the Center for the American Woman and Politics from the Ms. Foundation and continuing under the Public Leadership Education Network sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation, the project gives students an opportunity to serve in staff positions and to do research on legislative issues affecting women. It also helps to provide the Caucus with staff assistance.[7]

Similar Groups

Minnesota, Oregon and Massachusetts have caucuses of women legislators,

[7]For a fuller report of the Maryland Caucus and the internship program, see, "Report of a Legislative Internship Program of the Women's Caucus of the Maryland Legislature," by Marianne Ellis Alexander, available from the Center for the American Woman and Politics.

and in Connecticut an organization called "A Group of Women Legislators" is being formed.

F. Research and Training Centers for Women in Political Life Or Governmental Employment

Center for Women in Government (CWG)

Background

The Center for Women in Government calls itself "a research, training and information clearinghouse working toward the elimination of sex discrimination in the public sector." It is affiliated with the Comparative Development Studies Center of the Graduate School of Public Affairs, State University of New York at Albany. The Center began as a recommendation in a 1976 Ford Foundation study on the status of women in government. Following up on that recommendation, the Ford Foundation awarded a development grant to Nancy Perlman, the current director of the Center. She put together an ad hoc Advisory Committee that later became the Center's first Executive Committee; secured additional funding from the Fund for the City of New York, the Playboy Foundation, the Civil Service Employees Association and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and arranged for the affiliation with SUNY at Albany. The Center opened in January, 1978.

Goals

"To eliminate sex discrimination in the public sector; to work with organizations and involved women to create a climate where the full potential of women working within state government can be channeled toward building a better society for us all."

Structure

The Center has a twenty-seven member Board of Directors, about a quarter of whom make up its Executive Committee. They develop and guide the policy and activities that are carried out by the Director and staff of the Center.

Program

The Center's program falls into five major categories: research, training, advocacy, public education, and network development. So far the Center has completed four studies: a comparative study of female and male career ladders in four state agencies; a catalogue of all transition opportunities in New York State for movement from nonprofessional to professional positions; a statistical study on the status of women working for New York State over a 10-year period; and a needs assessment survey of women leaders in 24 organizations and state agencies. In the area of training, the Center has organized programs for New York State workers on subjects such as career planning, communications skills, and organization leadership. Many of these have been co-sponsored with other groups in the state. Its public education programs rest largely on a bi-monthly newspaper the Center publishes, "News on Women in Government," on staff testimony before the New York State Legislature, and on speeches before a variety of professional, educational, community, employee, and employer groups. The Center's Board of Directors is key to the organization's networking activities. Director Perlman said, "One of our goals is to develop a constituency for change and for that it is important that we have decision-makers on our board." She also feels that CWG is most effective as a backup resource and a catalyst for change and points to its training workshops as a place where "the seeds of organization" are planted as women learn what other groups have done.

CWG works only in New York State and so far most of its activities have been Albany based.

Similar Organizations

CWG is the only research and training center for women in administrative positions at the state or national level. At the national level, and concentrating on women in elective office there are three centers. They are: the

Center for the American Woman and Politics of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University in New Jersey; the National Women's Education Fund in Washington, D.C.; and the Washington Institute for Women in Politics at Mount Vernon College in Virginia.

G. The Presidential Management Intern Program (PMIP)

Note

We include this program in our report, not because it is specially designed for women, but because it isn't. Yet without being designed as a women's program it serves women almost as well as it serves men, and thereby accomplishes one of the most important objectives of all the other programs and organizations--equity.

Background

The Presidential Management Intern Program was established in 1977 by Executive Order 12008.

Goals

"To attract to federal service men and women of exceptional management potential who have received special training in planning and managing public programs."

Structure

PMIP is in the Bureau of Intergovernmental Personnel Programs, in the Office of Personnel Management. Each year it admits approximately 250 graduates of Public Administration and Business schools. Each school is asked to nominate at least two but no more than 10 percent of its graduating class. Nominees are then interviewed and finalists chosen by regional screening panels.

The Affirmative Action Program at PMIP

At all stages, care is taken and evaluations are made to assure that the "equal employment opportunity" called for in the Executive Order is provided. As Kathie Libby, the program's Assistant Director, noted, "This program

was created to improve management in the government service and one part of that improvement is having these positions reflect the general population."

In its instructions to graduate schools on criteria they are to follow, PMIP says, "Nominating officials are expected to make special efforts to identify highly qualified women, minorities and handicapped individuals who evidence potential for management development." At the next step--the regional process--there are three-member evaluation teams 75% of which have at least one woman or minority person as a member.

Through it all, the program is free from the veterans preference rules that tend to give employment to males over more highly qualified females. Moreover, the lack of an age cut-off, the inclusion of part-time students, and the use of initiative and commitment to public service as demonstrated by voluntary service as one of the criteria by which candidates are judged, all help to give those with a career background typical of women an equal chance to be chosen.

The result is not a perfectly even split between male and female interns--the disproportion between males and females in graduate management programs prevents that. But two points should be noted. The first is that accurate figures are available for every stage of the selection process, so that evaluation is possible. The second is that although women do not make up half the interns, their proportion in the program more closely represents their proportion in the population than it does in other federal training programs or in federal employment at management ranks. In its first year, 1978, 48 percent of the nominees and 49 percent of the finalists were women. In the second year,

38 percent of the nominees and 45 percent of the finalists were women. As Kathie Libby says, "It shows how doable affirmative objectives are when you want to do it."

II. REASONS FOR ORGANIZATION AND PROBLEMS IN ORGANIZATION

The needs women experience as individual officeholders bring women together into organizations. Their isolation, their need for the information and training that will help them to do a better job and to advance, their gender-based exclusion from positions, their overall minority status--all these problems bring women together in pursuit of common solutions. At that juncture an entirely new set of problems emerges. These have to do with organizing--with such matters as finding funds and staff for the maintenance of the organization, determining its scope, and developing its program. In this section we shall look at these organizing problems by examining with special care a list of needs developed by the Maryland Association of Elected Women, an organization formed in 1978.

At their first session, the Maryland women asked themselves what needs they had as public servants that could be met by a statewide organization. The list they compiled turned out to be typical of lists women public servants have been assembling all through the decade. It merits close inspection.

LIST OF WOMEN OFFICEHOLDERS

REGIONAL MEETINGS

PERSONAL EXCHANGE AMONG WOMEN IN PUBLIC SERVICE

EXCHANGE BETWEEN EXPERIENCED AND NEW WOMEN

A BUDDY SYSTEM

POLICY ISSUES

MORAL SUPPORT

ANNUAL MEETINGS, OR MEETINGS MORE OFTEN, GETTING TOGETHER

EXCHANGE OF IDEAS

CAMPAIGN SKILL SUPPORT

NEWSLETTER

FINANCING

APPOINTMENTS OF WOMEN--SUPPORT FOR WOMEN APPOINTEES

TO PLUG INTO EXISTING SUPPORT SYSTEMS

GET MEDIA ATTENTION ON WOMEN

DEVELOP MEMBERSHIP CATEGORIES

HELP BRING NEW WOMEN INTO THE SYSTEM

MAKE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN LEVELS OF OFFICES

DEVELOP AN OL' GIRL NETWORK

DEVELOP A RESOURCE NETWORK

Some of the needs are self-evident, others should be explained.

List of Women Officeholders

A great need of any woman officeholder is to find others like herself, and the first task of any organization of women is to develop a list of persons who would be served by and be members of the organization. This is usually a difficult and time-consuming task. Public interest groups, professional groups, and governments seldom have lists of members or officeholders broken down by gender. Nonetheless, there is not much a group can do until its list is compiled, because communications with prospective members are impossible without it. The "National Information Bank on Women in Public Office," at the Center for the American Woman and Politics, is a listing of women serving in

Congress, in statewide elective offices, in state legislatures, in the judiciary, on county commissions, and in city halls. It will begin to fill this need if the Center receives the funds necessary to regularly update and disseminate the information.

Regional Meetings, Annual Meetings, Getting Together and Personal Exchange Among Women in Public Service

Some persons observing the formation of women's groups wonder why they are necessary. The reason women's organizations are forming in the public service is, as has been noted, the same reason public interest groups and professional groups have always formed--to bring together persons with common interests. Most women, when they win their first election or earn their professional degree, feel that now they are colleagues of all others in their profession. They expect to be treated as peers and, as men do, they join the public interest or professional group appropriate to their newly acquired status. However, women entering public service professions and positions are breaking into worlds long dominated by men. Men do not always welcome female compeers. The women, expecting acceptance, achieve it formally, but informally encounter rejection and isolation instead. Thus their needs to get together with others of like interests are not met through channels ostensibly developed for that purpose. So the women form their own organizations, sometimes within and sometimes outside of existing institutions, but always because having been partially accepted for their achievements, they are denied full membership because of their gender.

The rejection women suffer is sometimes blatant, sometimes subtle and, more often than not, unintended by the men doing the rejecting. For instance, women officials attending annual meetings of public interest or professional

groups often travel in delegations from their state. Their fellow travelers are not all male, but the other females in the group are usually wives of the male officials. When they get to the meeting, the men go about their business together, their wives form another group, and the women officials find themselves alone. They are not included in the men's group whose activities and interests match their own, nor do they belong in the wives' group. A councilwoman from Utah said, "I just go my own way once we get to meetings." She bravely added, "They think I'm strange, but I don't care." Jaqueline Henneage, a First Selectman from Connecticut who had been to several NLC annual meetings before there was a Women in Municipal Government, commented, "The only people I got to know at all well at those meetings were the women. Some became friends, but some never showed up again."

It is, in part, the smallness of their numbers that leaves women isolated, but intentional ostracism plays it's part too. Liz Hair, County Commissioner from North Carolina, said, "You know, sometimes the men would go off into the men's room and hold the party there and leave the one woman meeting by herself. Literally this happened. It isn't like that anymore, but still it's harder to be a woman in public life. There is the network thing that operates for men but doesn't operate for women. Maybe it's not harder for a woman to get elected the first time, but it's harder to fend for yourself. You have much more to cope with somehow than men--and I didn't think this when I started, it just seems to get harder as you stay in and try to move up."

Added to the isolation that comes from the smallness in their numbers

and intentional slights from the male majority, is the isolation all social newcomers suffer. When asked why there was a Women Elected Municipal Officials in Massachusetts, but no "MEMO" or Men Elected Municipal Officials, a WEMO member said, "It's because we are still at a stage where being women we interact with our male counterparts in terms of the kinds of perceptions that they have of us as women. There are stereotypes and we, as individuals, haven't gotten through to a lot of them yet. A lot of us, sixty percent, are first-timers and we have to break down a lot of the pictures that they have of us and a lot of the knee-jerk responses that they make to things that we propose, a lot of the defensive reactions that they have about, quote, aggressive women, a lot of the competitiveness. Maybe a lot of that goes on in politics among men anyhow, but I think it's itensified when you get a woman in there."

One of her fellow WEMO members added a few words and in so doing managed to sum up the basis and the raison d'etre for most women's organizations. "It's because we're not a women's group," she insisted. "We happen to be a group of women elected officials trying to create networks of the kind of associations our male colleagues have with one another so that we can talk about our jobs, so that we can reinforce what we're doing, so that we won't give up after a year or two because of loneliness and the sort of feeling of being pushed off, put down, and swimming upstream all the time."

The need to associate is so great, and the loneliness so painful, that when women comment on the organizations they have formed, they speak

first and most glowingly about activities that might seem unimportant or even frivolous to outsiders--the cocktail parties they put on, the wine-and-cheese get-togethers, the breakfasts. Sociologists know that one of the most effective forms of social control is ostracism. Jailers build isolation cells to discipline prisoners; women form organizations so they can be governmental officials and not be punished for it.

Exchange Between Experienced and New Women; A Buddy System; Help Bring Women Into the System

Again, these are not needs peculiar to women. The members of every profession and occupation have devised ways to replenish their ranks, to initiate newcomers. The problem is that the ways men bring new men into governmental service do not work for women; thus they have to create their own solutions.

The experiences of one councilwoman exemplify the problem:

> When men come on to the council, friendships form with older more experienced councilmen and the older, more experienced councilmen show the younger men the ropes, help them to understand the situation, cart them around town. One young man practically lived in the pocket of an older councilman, and for two years we used to laugh and say John's vote was two votes because he had the other vote.
>
> There's been an election since then and John doesn't have the other vote 100%, but that young man is a better councilman now than he would be if he didn't have anybody to show him in the same way. I didn't have that, and when there were times when I was confused I did not feel that I could open myself up and expose myself that way to the more experienced men on my council.

Now that she is an experienced councilmember, there is a kind of reversal of the problem, but with the same results:

> There's been another election and two men have joined the council, and you have a different problem when you're already there. It was very hard for the two new men. I knew more than they did about what went on in the council, and they didn't like that. Men don't like to be told things by women.
>
> We have a real bad problem right now with one of them. He had never done anything in municipal government before, nothing, and he doesn't know which way to turn, but I don't feel as a woman that I can go and talk to him. I would feel capable of talking to another woman.

Not being able to initiate the men who come onto the council after her, she will not be able to develop the kind of loyal support enjoyed by her colleague John.

That is why it is especially important to the women already in government service to bring new women in, to initiate them, and to develop what the Maryland women called a "buddy system." For until women fill close to half the public service positions, they are not likely to have those networks of associations that help one perform in professional roles, nor will men and women easily learn how to act toward one another as colleagues till then.

Policy Issues

The question of whether or not a women's organization should develop around political issues was raised many times at meetings of women. At the 1979 NCSL breakfast meeting of women legislators, for instance, it was the topic that generated the greatest amount of disagreement. Some argued that issue orientation is a source of coalescence, but others argued that it

divides groups before they have a chance to gather strength. Support for the latter position came at the annual WIMG business meeting, when a couple of women from southern states, failing to persuade the group to drop their public support for ERA, stormed from the room.

Some women, usually those in state legislatures, see the formation of a women's caucus as a way to promote feminist legislation. Thus, one of the major stated purposes of the Women's Caucus of the Maryland Legislature was to monitor and coalesce support for bills that were identified as women's issues--Property Rights, Battered Spouse, Pension Equity, Rape and Related Sexual Offenses.

Women on city councils or in administrative positions, on the other hand, often make a point of stressing their opposition to an organization formed around "women's issues," some denying that there is any set of issues that could be called strictly "women's," others objecting to the tendency for women to be relegated to such issues, and still others stressing their desire to learn about matters that have no apparent gender focus--sewers, roads, budgets, energy.

At WEMO, where most members come from the eastern part of the state and there has been some difficulty attracting members from the western half, the feeling is that the western elected women don't join because they think all that WEMO does is deal with "women's issues" even though WEMO does not. An officer of WEMO explained:

> I think we have a little bit of a problem with some of the women in the western part of the state because they are very leery of a, quote, women's organization. I discovered that at the councilors' convention where there were some women city councilors from cities clear out in the western part of the state who said they knew

> about WEMO but they never would come to one of those women's groups because they didn't want to talk about consciousness raising--they were already doing their thing.
>
> And the point is, we rarely deal with women's issues--it's binding arbitration. Of course, it makes me angry to hear people talk about women's issues anyway, because binding arbitration is as much a women's issue as a men's issue for heaven's sake. We're paying the taxes, it affects working women who are in the labor force. Certainly public works is a woman's issue. I never heard of a pothole being sex-linked. We deal with those matters because we're elected officials first and women second.

Even some legislators argue that there are no "women's issues." For instance, Maryland Congresswoman Marjory S. Holt was reported to have said, "When they ask me about women's issues, I don't know what they're talking about. People are people, not so many men and women." Not only do some women fail to define any issues as "women's," but, like Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum of Kansas, who opposed extension of the deadline to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, some women take positions most feminists oppose.

Nonetheless, even those who are anti-feminist on certain issues, generally favor organizing, so long as "women's issues" are not the basis of the organization. In short, although almost all women in the public service come to feel the need to get together, they do not all see eye-to-eye on every issue, not even feminist ones. And so far, most organizations that have managed to form and to hold together have made a point of avoiding policy issues--at least in the early stages of organization.

Develop Membership Categories; Make Connections Between Levels of Offices

This, too, is a need all organizations face--and a thorny problem.

Early in their formation every group must decide how inclusive or exclusive it will be. Usually the initial urge is toward inclusion, but the practical need turns out to be exclusivity. Tensions between elected and career public servants have, to date, always developed into a separation of the two; sometimes resulting in two women's organizations, as in California, and sometimes in a single organization that serves only one type of public official, as happened in Maryland and Massachusetts. The fact that the only legislative issue on which the elected women's organization in Massachusetts (WEMO) lobbied had to do with opposing the right to collective bargaining of government employees typifies the kinds of conflicts that split elected from appointed officials. The differences in their situations and responsibilities lead to many such conflicts. An elected official's hold on her job is tenuous and often short; a career official's job is generally more secure. Elected officials are responsible for policy formation, career officials for policy implementation; but because career officials enjoy greater job stability they are often more familiar with the problems, especially the technical ones surrounding any issue; and because theirs is a day-to-day rather than an intermittent activity, career officials are often in a position to shape policy as well as carry it out.

Moreover, the difference in methods of position attainment between political and administrative officials leads the latter into policy formation rather than simple administration. Elected officials attain office through political processes--their ability to win the favor of voters. Administrative officials, on the other hand, come to their positions by bureaucratic means--appointment based on credentials, training, and, in many cases,

objective testing.[8] Their skills are technical, elected officials' skills are political. Once in office, political officials often appear to administrators to be singularly ill-equipped to make the decisions their positions call for (and indeed, the acquisition of technical knowledge is one need, not listed by the Maryland women, that frequently comes up when elected women describe the difficulties they hope to surmount by joining with other women). The administrator's response to the politician's lack of technical knowledge is often to try to take issues out of the political decision-making process altogether. Administrators tend by temperament and training to approach all problems as managerial or technical rather than political; and the power of elected officials to make decisions often seems to administrators to be misplaced and better circumvented where possible.

Add to this the fact that honor in administrative service is based essentially on avoiding precisely that which is central to an elected official, namely politics, and we have--built into our governmental system--the basis of a never-ending tension between elected and career officials. The responsibility of a civil servant is to "execute conscientiously the order of superior /usually political/ authorities exactly as if the order agreed with /her/ own conviction."[9] Thus the administrative officials must

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[8]This purely bureaucratic means of job attainment is, of course, the ideal, not the reality, as the process is more often than not mingled with the political, and administrators typically get their jobs through the people they know, and by winning the favor of superiors. Nonetheless, it is the ideal that shapes attitudes, and administrators pride themselves on their training and technical skills, not on their political know-how.

[9]Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation," in From Max Weber, H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds. Oxford University Press, 1957, p. 95. The entire discussion here rests heavily on Weber's analysis in that seminal essay.

carry out first liberal, then conservative, first Republican, then Democratic policy, as elections unfold and political offices change hands. Under these circumstances, the administrative official cannot be responsible for the policy itself, only for its execution.

The honor of a political leader, on the other hand, lies in taking responsibility for choice of policy. She it is who must answer for the program she chooses to promote, and for its outcomes, both intended and unexpected. She judges, (directs, hires, promotes, and is responsible for) the administrative official. The electorate judges her.

All this has little directly to do with gender. But the division has been so troubling to women's fledgling organizations, it has been at the root of so many misunderstandings and antagonisms among those who seem such natural allies, that it is appropriate in this analysis of women's organizations to give it some perspective. It is a division that, because of their small numbers, costs women more than it costs men.

Appointments of Women; Support for Women Appointees

Support of women for each other is not something that comes simply or without planning, especially not across political/career lines. As the companion CAWP report, "Women in Municipal Management: Choice, Challenge and Change" indicates, women career public officials do not feel they receive any special support from their political counterparts, and the evidence bears them out. Women are not more likely to be selected for management positions, even when women are on the council that does the hiring. Appointments of women still involve some political risk and unorganized women are no more willing to take that risk than are men. On the

other hand in the goals that women list for their organizations there is strong evidence of their desire for mutual support.

The most frequently and prominently mentioned reason for women's organizing is the exclusion of women from leadership positions within the bodies they serve and the expectation that an organization of women could help secure positions for women. There is, in fact, some evidence that though isolated women cannot support each other, women in groups can effectively help each other win appointments. We will discuss this more fully in the section on achievements.

Moral Support

More subtle, but closely allied to the political support women join to lend each other, is the moral support they look for. As a small minority in whatever ranks they fill, women are isolated; as new social types in their positions, women face problems of legitimacy; and as members of a group undefended by either numbers or manners, women are exposed to indignities from the men with whom they share office. By joining together, by establishing groups where they can meet, women can overcome their isolation and gain the psychological strength they need to fend off demoralizing situations.

When asked, virtually every woman listed moral support among the benefits they enjoyed from the groups they formed. Liz Hair, a County Commissioner from North Carolina emphasized the social warmth:

> I think it's the opportunities to meet with other women in a supportive way. You have to be *so* brave, and *so* unaffrontive, and *so* pent up, and *so* strong all

> the time that you don't realize how much you need mutual support.
>
> You feel that you are so relatively rare, you have to be so damned perfect, you have such a tremendous obligation to other women not to act like an emotional woman, not to mess up, just to be super because you're judged not for yourself but for other women too.
>
> One thing is, you get cut off from your friends. You have so little time. I never catch up--of course I have four kids, I have a house, and I have a job that I'm still doing.
>
> So, when you meet with other political women, it's like coming in from the cold just to sit with these women who are all so supportive, and I've thought, 'Yeah, really, sometimes you just have to have the opportunity to let your hair down.'

For Kay Waldo, Councilwoman from Kansas City, it was the affirmation and the sense of legitimacy for her role as a leader that were most important:

> I think that a lot of women do not view themselves as being leaders. They're not quite comfortable with the notion that it's all right for them to be there. I've experienced that feeling sometimes and found myself thinking at a council meeting. 'I really shouldn't be here because it's not a place where women should be.' And when I talk to them I find that I don't know of a woman who doesn't sometimes feel that. But, together we can work out those feelings.

And some women turned to the protection and strength of other women so they could overcome affronts from men with whom they worked.

A councilwoman from Massachusetts said:

> There's one man on my council that every time I walk by whispers hoarsely, 'Love ya, baby,' and you try not to let it get to you, but it does.

Such indignities were never the main reason for the formation of their organizations, but when women got together they were often discussed, and responses that had worked to restrain offending male colleagues were shared. Sometimes, as in the case of the Women's Caucus of the Maryland State Legislature, a particularly public and insulting event became the spur to organization. (See page 41).

Campaign Skill Support; Develop A Resource Network

As important as the moral support is the technical, how-to-do-it kind of help women can lend each other. Because women are isolated, because they are not readily taken under the wing of more experienced male colleagues, women must look to each other and develop formal organizations in which they can find each other to share the kinds of knowledge that can only come from experienced colleagues.

Campaign workshops are one important service some groups offer. They help bring new women into the political realm; and what is possibly even more important, they help keep women in. It appears to be common knowledge to women who have weathered many campaigns, but surprising to most neophytes, that reelection is a different process with different sets of problems and different techniques from first campaigns. Although there is no hard evidence that attrition is a greater phenomenon among elected women than among elected men, the numbers of women in office are so small that losing even a few becomes a matter of concern. Because their numbers are so small and the need to keep experienced female colleagues is great, women are concerned about one-term officials and try with formal groups and workshops to stem the drop-off rate.

Campaign skills are, of course, only required by elected officials; but most other technical resources needed by women in public life are as necessary to career officials as to politicians. Once in office, most women find gaps in their expertise. Because they fear that any admission of ignorance will be taken as a sign of typical female weakness by male colleagues, women have difficulty turning to nearby colleagues (who are

almost invariably male) for help. Often they try on their own to fill the gaps in their knowledge; and often the attempt leaves them exhausted and still ill-informed.

At the organizing meeting of the Maryland Association of Elected Women, a young woman who had just been elected to her town council asked what she could do to learn more about the law. An ordinance had been proposed in her council that she did not think was good, but she felt that she didn't have the skills necessary to analyze it effectively. One woman told her about a short-course on the law that was being offered by American University. On hearing that, Sue Hone said, "That's the trouble with women--they try to be expert on everything. Women have to learn that they don't have to know everything about everything, but they do have to know somebody who does know. That's what men do." She thus summed up a major reason for networking.

California Women in Government (CWIG), with its mentor program and its directory listing women according to their areas of expertise, has one of the best developed services of this kind. Other women's organizations run programs to spread needed information. In Massachusetts, WEMO's monthly meetings, each featuring a specific substantive area, is one example of the way a women's organization can help its members to be more competent in the technical aspects of their offices. When asked why a state organization such as WEMO was necessary, its president explained:

> We couldn't talk about the things we need to know in the National League of Cities. The NLC is not going to tell me how to deal with getting my pothole filled in Attleboro, Massachusetts. They want to talk about federal funding and dealing with

> the U.S. Congress and that's very important and I want them to do it, but that's not going to help me to deal with the eleven men that I have to deal with as I try to get my particular program through the Attleboro City Council. In WEMO we can deal with the things we need to deal with here in Massachusetts.

Newsletter

Once there is an organization, there is a need to communicate with members, and the publication of a newsletter is the way most freestanding women's groups satisfy that need. Newsletters can be as simple as WEMO's mimeographed minutes of its monthly meetings which are distributed to all members, or more elaborate, like CEWAER's monthly newsletter printed on heavy stock and featuring photographs of members and of speakers at its meetings. Women's groups that are a part of some larger group such as WIMG, often spread their news through special columns in the parent organization's regular membership publication.

Financing

Formal networking costs money. Newsletters, directories, meetings, information services, speakers bureaus, an office--all these are costly undertakings; they require workers, materials, a place. Freestanding organizations usually rely on membership dues to cover most of their expenses; groups under the aegis of larger organizations look for support and services from that parent organization. With the exception of the women's group in NACo, members of all the organizations felt that their group was running on a shoestring and was doing far less than they thought it could do with more money.

III. ACHIEVEMENTS AND FRUSTRATIONS

Probably the greatest achievement of women's organizations so far is their existence. Their proliferation and growth, most of it within the last five years, is in itself an accomplishment of no small order. Once established, these organizations appear to gather strength and inspire the formation of additional groups. Although, in our observations over the year, we saw and heard about many organizations that are struggling to come to life, we know of none that has failed to survive once it was formed. The reason for their staying power is that just by being there, an organization provides women with a reason and place to meet, and thus it helps to solve one of the most painful problems women in the public service face--their isolation.

Whether a group forms so that a councilperson from Attleboro, Massachusetts can find another councilperson 50 miles away to talk to, or so the lone woman county commissioner in her state's delegation can find another woman at a national NACo meeting, women's groups, even in their earliest stages, afford a place and reason for introductions and sharing. At the Women in Municipal Government meeting during the 1979 Legislative Conference of NLC, leaders from states that had formed or were forming state organizations such as WEMO rose one by one to make progress reports. A woman from Minnesota said, "The most helpful thing in Minnesota is that we now have somewhere women can find each other." Echoing her thoughts and explaining WIMG's slow progress, Mary Neuberger, its president said, "We've been a long time forming because we're just getting to the point where we recognize each other."

Once women do get together and recognize each other, something beyond mutual recognition takes place--they begin to share a mutual regard. What Kay Waldo expressed, that sense of illegitimacy women feel as they assume roles once reserved for men, can be overcome only through experiences of acceptance--and these come most readily in women's groups, because it is only in such groups that a woman's gender is not her most salient feature.

It may seem strange, but virtually the only times when a woman's personal characteristics become more noticeable than her sexual characteristics is when she is at a meeting of women. As long as women form but a small minority in any group, their gender tends to obscure all their other characteristics--even the ones that qualify them for their jobs. We think of Chicago's Jane Byrne not as a mayor, but as a woman mayor; and we will continue to perpetuate such stigmatizing labels until women mayors are as common as men mayors. Until then, the women whose achievements have placed them in formerly all male worlds will have to get together with each other to enjoy a few moments when gender is irrelevant.

In rooms filled with women, women's talents shine. Explaining why the Maryland women should form an organization like CEWAER, Sue Hone listed some advantages California women enjoyed. One of the things an organization can do for you, she said, "is to let you be in a room full of women and know that you are in a room full of important people." Thus, within the organization itself, there are benefits to members.

But although benefits begin to be felt internally, they do not end there. Either as an initial goal or following quickly after organization, there comes another insight and goal for action: important people should be in important places making important decisions. In some cases, especially

among the legislative caucuses and the women's organizations within public interest and professional organizations, one of the first steps is concerted action to get the parent body to place women on decision-making committees. An essential part of that activity is the identification of women within the organization who are prepared to serve.

WEMO has a sub-committee to prepare lists of able women. Its president proudly declared, "From our membership were recruited candidates and eventually appointees to trustee of the University of Massachusetts and eventually a wide range of state level appointments will come which is one of the things we hope will come out of our group."

Sometimes placement flows from organization in a less formal way, as it does from the exchange of resumes and information about job openings at Washington Women's Network get-togethers. When she was asked to think about the benefits of women's organizations, Kay Waldo replied, "Women are not thought of as options for appointments to commissions and boards; they lack a support network of women who have the connections, who have the ties, and who can relate to the men at the different levels. But once they get to know of other women who can fill positions, women who are at a level where they can make suggestions can make that telephone call and say, 'hey we have a good woman in this organization!'"

The response to that call or to the more formal petitions of women's groups has often been positive. Kay Waldo notes, "My experience in Kansas City at least is that most--well, many--men who are in positions to make those kinds of appointments are open to those recommendations and are not going to be instantly resistant. If it's a good woman, then they're going to go along with it, so I think what we need is that support network so the

recommendations get made." WEMO's president said, "The Massachusetts League of Cities and Towns has been very supportive. One of the things we wanted to do was get women officials represented on MLCT committees and task forces. My feeling is that now we are very nearly overrepresented. That is, there is a bigger percentage of women on the MLCT boards than there are elected women in the state. Ten percent of the elected offials are women and there are four women, twenty percent, on a twenty-one member executive board. We've been readily accepted by the Massachusetts League; the Massachusetts League helped establish WEMO."*

At NACo, ten seats have been added to the national steering committee for gender and racial balance. Normally election to the steering committee comes through the state organizations--each state having one or two positions, depending on the number of members from the state. "The state association nominates you and then for sure you're on," explained Sandra Smoley, a County Commissioner and member from California. But because the states can nominate only one or two persons to the nominating committee, it is, according to Smoley, "very hard for minorities or women to get those nominations." So in 1977 "several women and several blacks got together and discussed how we could get on, and they came up with the idea of creating ten at-large positions." Now minority appointments are made after the rest of the board has been voted on. The president makes the appointments with the advice of a committee and a hearing panel at which groups such as the women's caucus and the other minority caucuses participate.

Those ten slots are a boon to NACo and to the minorities and women who fill the slots. Along with the Massachusetts League of Cities, NACo stands

*NOTE: The Massachusetts League of Cities and Towns is now called the Massachusetts Municipal Association.

out among public interest organizations as a group whose women members feel they are fairly treated. Echoing the opinoin of most other women in NACo, Smoley said, "All the officers are very aware of women, the need for women, so I would say that things are going very well for women in NACo at this point."

Within other professional and public interest groups, women do not express such satisfaction. At ICMA, where membership is hierarchically categorized and where policy-making privileges are greatest in just those ranks where the percentage of women is the lowest, women feel excluded from full participation in the organization. While there have been gains--the Minority Executive Placement Program, the full-time women's coordinator and the two at-large positions on the board of directors--ICMA's women members note that not one woman has ever filled a regular board position. Moreover, no woman has ever received an ICMA award, only one was ever an honorary member, and only one a life member; and few women have served in the leadership positions on any of the thirty-eight state or regional manager's associations that have traditionally been stepping-stones to the ICMA board.

At the NLC there is no special place on the board for women and minorities, and there is no sign that the participation of women on policy making committees has changed since 1974 when WIMG was formed. A report prepared by the NLC Office of Policy Analysis and Development and circulated during the 1979 WIMG business meeting shows the changes in women's participation in the NLC policy process between 1976 and 1979. Looking it over, WIMG's president observed that in 1976 the Board of Directors had eight

women members, in 1977, six; in 1978, seven; and in 1979 eight again. "Well, at least we have not regressed," she said.

On the other hand, noting the same figures, Alan Beals, Executive Director of NLC, pointed out that the percentage of women on NLC boards and committees greatly exceeded their percentage among NLC members. Talking about that and the NLC programs where he has used his powers to place women, he said, "I hear complaints about that from some of the men."

Complaints follow rapidly on the heels of gains. At ICMA where a quarterly newsletter has been funded by the Ford Foundation, complaints were heard from the Hispanic caucus that the women had a paper and they did not. At NACo, where the women's group sponsors a cocktail party and a women's supplement was included in an issue of the NACo newsletter, Sandra Smoley said, "The thing is, the blacks are saying, 'You're featuring the women,' and they feel a little threatened by that because they say that we were being featured over the blacks. I think that we've taken some criticisms because we have this elective women's caucus cocktail party and a lot of people say 'Jesus, you don't do that for the men.' And I say, well, until we're equal and until we have the same opportunities, women need special attention."

It's a conundrum: women need special attention because their numbers are small and their opportunities limited, but because their numbers are small the attention and positions they do get appear to be out of proportion to their numbers.

When it comes to numbers, there is in most instances no clear proof

that increases can be attributed to the women's organizations.[10] Sometimes there does appear to be a direct cause and effect relationship. For instance, Nancy Foye at the International City Manager's Association notes that following the publication of the first issue of Public Management Woman in September 1978, 70 women joined ICMA, dramatically increasing women's membership in the organization from 387 to 457. Thus it appears that for women already in public life the women's organizations do help to increase women's participation in professional activities, and do help them receive appointments to committees and conference panels.

Women's organizations must, however, face in two directions at once--toward women already in public service and toward the female population at large from which recruits can be drawn. Although virtually every women's organization has as one of its goals an increase in the numbers of women in the public service, their programs, at least at first, are designed more to serve women who have already entered the field than to prepare new women to enter.

Because change can have many causes, and because for most positions we do not have adequate base line data against which to measure change, we cannot tell whether organizations formed by women already in the public service do draw new women into public life. We know through our interviews that women's civic organizations, such as the League of Women Voters, and advocacy groups, such as NAACP, were the vehicle that drew many elected

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[10] In California, where there are two well-established statewide women's organizations, the percentage of women in municipal management is only middling (8%, compared with 22% in Indiana, the highest). But California has the largest number of professional positions in government, so it is also the state with the largest number of women municipal managers--109.

women toward their offices; and we know from interviews conducted for the companion study, "Women in Municipal Management," that in areas where no groups have formed specifically for women in the public service, women officials still turn to civic organizations.

Between 1975 and 1978 the numbers of women in public office increased on every level except Congress. In 1975, women held approximately seven percent of elective positions; by 1978 the number had increased to approximately 10 percent, with the greatest gains appearing at the local level.[11]

In appointive local positions there are gains as well. In virtually every position there was a percentage increase of women officeholders. Moreover, women are becoming a greater part of the student body in the schools of Public Administration from which personnel for governmental professional positions are drawn--approximately 10% in 1973 and 22% in 1977.[12]

As for women in the federal service, it is possible to discern some progress--although it is hard to judge just what can be specifically attributed to the Federal Women's Program, Federally Employed Women, or women's offices within unions. Moreover, although progress can be counted, it is, for the most part, slight. In her 1977 review of the Federal Women's Program, FWP director Janice Mendenhall noted that between 1967 and 1976 the percentage of GS7 to GS11 that are female had risen from 24.5 to 33.3. On the other hand, percentages at all other grades had remained essentially unchanged

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[11] Center for the American Woman and Politics. Women in Public Office: A Biographical Directory and Statistical Analysis (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1976) xx. and the Center for the American Woman and Politics' National Information Bank on Women in Public Life.

[12] Public Management Woman, (Winter 1979) 1.

with an overabundance of women in the lower grades (72.8 at both times) and both negligible numbers and insignificant change in the higher grades (GS 12 to 15, 5.0 in 1967 and 7.6 in 1976). Thus, the dramatic increases of resources to FWP from six full-time managers in 1970 to 50 full-time and 10,000 part-time managers today has not resulted in a corresponding increase in highly placed women. In interviews with women who were actively involved in the FWP at its inception Mendenhall found that they "all agreed that the major change" over the years had been "attitudinal." Nonetheless, women in the federal service today still feel that the barriers they face to supervisory and managerial positions are chiefly attitudinal. "It's the male supervisor who's key. He's the one you have to educate," said Fran Kaplan, executive director of FEW. Her words were repeated wherever we went in organizations aimed at the federal government or within governmental offices themselves.

Stacy Dean of the Interdepartment Task Force on Women, noted, for instance, that most members working on the subgroup for women in federal employment felt that everything depended upon the chief. Agencies with chiefs who supported affirmative action programs had far better records than did agencies with chiefs who were indifferent to or opposed to the equal employment of women. The subgroup is working to find ways to place responsibility for fair hiring practices with supervisors.

Concern among women with the attitudes of supervisors ties in with criticism frequently directed at the Federal Women's Program. Most women, noting the scant change in the proportion of women in managerial ranks, feel the FWP has been ineffective. They attribute its failure to its structure.

FWP managers are hired by and responsible to agency, not FWP, supervisors. Where their supervisors are not sympathetic to FWP goals, there is little that FWP managers can do for women in their agencies without risking their own careers. Moreover, women note that for most FWP managers the women's program is only a part, and often a very small part, of their total duties. Most often the FWP managership is thrown in as an additional burden on affirmative action officers who are more interested in racial than in gender discrimination.

Thus, although the FWP has expanded greatly, and the numbers of task forces and committees developed in other offices to influence policy has been great, the policy changes, or results of policy changes have been slight. If the task forces have done anything at all, they have managed to document regulations and practices that put women at a disadvantage. But little has been done to change those practices.

For example, the Justice Department's Task Force on Sex Discrimination's yearly report was long on listings of inequities and setbacks but short on accomplishments. The findings on inequities included lower social security for families where both spouses work, the "marriage penalty" build into the Internal Revenue Code, and the below-average overall representation of the female work force in government jobs. It noted that the disproportion tends to become further entrenched by veterans' preference, limited upward mobility in many programs, and inadequate recruiting programs.

Its successes are three: an agreement with the Farmers Home Administration to rewrite regulations so that women previously denied recognition as farmers would be so designated; the abolishment of discriminatory employment practices by the Board of International Broadcasting which oversees Radio

Liberty; and the replacement of the masculine pronoun by sex-neutral language in certain executive publications and regulations.[13]

In sum,what we have seen is a pattern showing great efforts among women to organize, to pinpoint injustices, and to work for change. Among themselves, within their organizations, women have achieved much of what they set out to do. But where women would have to not only create their own structures, but change existing structures as well--structures still largely in control of men--they have been far less successful.

One pattern hardly ever varied. When women felt they had made progress, we asked them how it had happened; and in almost every case, a man was given credit. More often than not, it was some man already in politics who had suggested to a woman active in some civic organization that she run for office. At NACo virtually every woman, when asked to explain the group's success, answered with the name Bill Beach, president of NACo at the time its ten minority and women's positions were instituted.

That question often led to another--why are some men more supportive of change than others. And again the answer was predictable--either, "I don't know," or a response similar to what Liz Hair said in our very first interview:

> The most liberalizing influence on older men is their daughters, in my opinion. When they've spent a lot of money to put their daughters through college to train them for some job and then they get out and find that all the men have got the jobs, that does more to men than anything

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[13] "Interim Report to the President," Government Printing Office, Stock No. 027-000-00743-1.

else. You know, they think their wives are wonderful but dumb, but their daughters are something else. And that's how I get to middle-aged men when I talk to the Rotary Club or something like that about opportunities for women. I talk to them about their daughters. They're very proud of their daughters. And I've found others who would say the same thing. Their daughters, that's a vulnerable spot with middle-aged men.

IV. NEEDS AND SUGGESTIONS

The needs of women in the public service and of their organizations fall into three general and related categories: further change in attitudes, further strengthening and proliferation of the organizations, and an increase in numbers and rise in rank of women in the public service. In this final section we shall take up these questions one by one and offer suggestions on how the needs might be met. In most cases the suggestions were heard first from the persons we interviewed; in some cases the suggestions are our own. In a companion report of program options, "Changing the Opportunity Structure for Women in the Public Sector," the Center for the American Woman and Politics has combined the recommendations from this report with those from its study of women in municipal management, spelling out each of them, naming the groups or agencies that could carry them out, and categorizing the proposed programs by type and probable cost.

Attitudes

Most questions of attitudes focused upon male leaders. Where they are indifferent or opposed to equality programs, those programs falter. Solutions vary according to level of government. What we need in the federal service are ways to make supervisors accountable for the progress of women within their agencies. Women note that requirements to file affirmative action reports have only resulted in a mass of unexamined data. These data should be analyzed with an eye to identifying departments that succeed at affirmative action and those that do not. Supervisors at

the former should be rewarded; those at the latter should be pressed to change. Workshops and formal mentoring programs are frequently mentioned as ways to effect change. The Presidential Management Intern Program includes a formal mentoring arrangement. This aspect of the PMIP should be carefully watched to see how well it works and, if it succeeds, to see if there are ways to replicate it. At a few federal agencies and occasionally at professional and public interest groups there have been workshops where women and men joined to discuss the barriers women face and the difficulties men confront when they encounter female colleagues or superiors. These workshops need to be evaluated and improved, and ways must be found to attract to them the men most resistant to change. The present inability of these workshops to enlist such men was often mentioned as one of their most serious weaknesses.

One attitude of male supervisors, shared by some women, is that leadership is inappropriate to women. The strongest proof against this is the conspicuous presence of women who do succeed. Women in high positions need to be featured in publications, on platforms, and in every place where they can catch the public's and their colleagues' eye. There is probably no better way for women to be attracted to the public service and for men to become accustomed to women in high ranking positions than to have women of achievement continually on view. We heard that showcasing of women breeds male resentment; but until the higher decision-making ranks have their full share of women and the lower support service ranks have their full share of men, we shall assume that the resentment comes in part from fear of necessary change, and we shall keep hoping that before too long the resentment will turn into respect.

Although it has been a source of annoyance and derision, programs that replace the female and male pronouns with sex-neutral language do accustom us to the idea of women holding important positions. These measures should be followed now with a careful scrutiny of content in governmental publications and in the brochures of educational institutions to see where they reinforce stereotypical, outdated notions. Change should follow that discovery. (See Appendix One: A Picture is Worth a Thousand Words.)

Common among career gate-keepers is the belief that the experience women receive at work and in voluntary associations is not preparation for leadership roles. No sooner is it suggested that women ought to be promoted to the higher ranks of government service than the question of qualifications is raised. It is a question that assumes the superiority of men and the career paths they follow. What we need is a better assessment of the qualities that make for good leadership and the way those qualities can be acquired. Decades of study, mostly by male industrial psychologists, and mostly of male managers, leave that question still essentially unanswered. Perhaps a fresh look, free of assumptions bred by tradition, might lead to some useful insights. The Interdepartmental Task Force on Women's examination of selection criteria for middle management federal positions is a step in this direction.

Often those who believe that women cannot successfully handle leadership roles also imagine that affirmative action programs have already achieved their goals and are no longer necessary. Actually, we have no way to know precisely what is happening. In general, data on women in public life are woefully scarce. Progress is difficult to measure, because for most positions there has been no baseline data organized by gender until the nineteen-

seventies. What information there is, is dispersed among many agencies and organizations.

Starting in 1975 CAWP's computerized National Information Bank of Women in Public Life has provided an accurate count and listing of women officials. ICMA maintains a similar listing of women in the urban management profession. But without base data for the total number of elected and municipal management positions in the country, the usefulness of these two data banks is limited. Neither CAWP nor ICMA has the resources to maintain the necessary base data. A single federal agency charged with the responsibility and afforded the resources to keep track of the total number of elected and appointed officials in federal, state and local government as well as the total number of state and local government employees is needed. Only then can the progress of women in the public sector be monitored accurately and regularly by organizations such as CAWP and ICMA.[14]

Organizational Needs

Everyone working with women's organizations in the public service feels that the greatest need these group have is for staff.

Women elected officials typically have, in addition to the demands of their office, a full or part-time job, as well as household responsibilities; career officials are almost equally overburdened. Elected men, of course, have their jobs too, but their household responsibilities are usually lighter,

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14 Some base data is collected by the U.S. Bureau of the Census-Census of Governments and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). The data is not collected with enough frequency, thoroughness, or completeness to use as accurate base figures.

and their work places are more likely than women's to provide support. As Liz Hair put it, "Women do not have the kind of technical and staff support available to them privately through their own resources that men have, nor is enough made available to them if they are elected officials part-time, and that's a serious shortcoming. They wouldn't be quite so pressed and behind if they had that."

Add to that ordinary overburdening of women officials the work of developing and managing a women's organization, and women call for staff help. The word "staff" tends to stand for much more than just the personnel needs of these fledgling organizations. What they need in addition to staff are all the materials for that staff to work with--paper, typewriters, stamps, etc.--and an office for the staff to work in. In short, the organizations need material support--money.

Virtually every organization that has gotten beyond the wishing or planning stage has found some makeshift substitute for a staff and office. In California, CEWAER has a part-time executive director paid (not very generously) from membership dues, and it leans heavily on the resources of its president who, as the vice-mayor of Berkeley, has at her disposal the kind of office support commonly enjoyed by men. According to Sue Hone, CEWAER presidents before her were equally well-positioned. In effect, only a small minority of CEWAER's members can become presidents and continue to support the organization in the manner to which it is accustomed. An elitism contrary to organization ideals is thus forced upon CEWAER. CWIG, too, depends heavily on its chair. In addition, it has been assisted by a CETA worker (an uncommon solution) and interns (the most usual way out). Both groups, as freestanding organizations, receive almost all their money from members' dues.

Women's groups or committees that have formed within larger professional or public interest groups typically seek support from the parent organization. Sometimes the women feel generously treated (as at NACo), but more often they feel they have received the niggardly treatment commonly associated with folktale stepchildren.

Even in the best of circumstances women face opposition. As Cindy Kenny, the staff person assigned to the women's organization at NACo, said, "There is some controversy about the role of the women's caucus. Some people say there is no more need for a women's caucus than for a men's caucus." As a result, the support is usually not sufficient to the task. At WEMO where the women feel they have been well received by the leadership of the Massachusetts League of Cities and Towns, the staff person assigned to WEMO, Sheila Cheimets, said she didn't have the time to do all that was needed. She thought WEMO's restriction to elected officials was not based on any division between elected and career public servants, but instead on a lack of staff time. "We've had a number of calls from women planners and managers who wanted to join WEMO," she said, "but we just can't deal with it. We can send them materials, but we can't service them."

It is difficult to find a speedy solution to this dilemma. But if we default here, the extraordinary energy that marked the last half of the seventies might turn to exhaustion in the eighties. A number of approaches have been put forward. Some look to established groups for help, others face inward toward the women and their new organizations.

First, the programs and priorities of associations that are supported by public funds should be reexamined with an eye toward how they serve

those footing the bill--the taxpayers, more than half of whom are women. At public interest and professional associations, we were repeatedly told by staff members that serving women, who hardly make up five percent of those attending annual meetings, could not be a top priority--especially because it raises the hackles of some of the men. The question is: What is the base on which percentages should be drawn--the individuals who are sent to meetings by their community governments, or the communities themselves that are made up of more than half-female constituencies? The minorities and women at NACo argued persuasively and successfully (thereby winning the ten balancing seats on the board of directors) that NACo was meant to serve the member counties, not the elected officials who attended meetings. Public interest and professional organizations are supported not by individual members but by communities and citizens. It follows that the citizens supporting the organization are the ones whose interests should be served, and that can best be done if all segments of that citizenry are fairly represented. Looked at that way, it becomes clear that the gains that women and minorities have recently made through their inclusion on policymaking boards and programs, though they appear to overrepresent women when measured in terms of persons who attend meetings, do not really come even close to representing women in the populations to be served. Doing what they can to be more representative than they are now through support of the women's organizations under their aegis ought to be a top priority for these organizations.

Second, ways should be found to bring more eligible women to meetings of public interest and professional organizations. Echoing the

view of women in government from all over the country, a member of WEMO said, "I can't attend meetings of NLC. Rarely would they ever be where I can attend. I cannot afford to get in an airplane and fly to all the places where they hold meetings." Notice that she used the personal pronoun, "I". If she were to attend an NLC meeting, she would have to pay her own expenses. Yet, most of these (women and men alike) who attend NLC meetings have their expenses covered by the governments they serve. Why not women such as the WEMO member?

The answer lies in the governmental positions women tend to hold--they are concentrated in the lower ranks and in smaller governmental units. CAWP's survey of women and men municipal managers found women no more likely to serve in smaller governmental units. However, only 4.5 percent of chief administrative officers are women. Of them 62 percent are employed by cities with less than 5,000 population and an additional 12 percent are employed in in cities in the 10,000 to 24,999 range leaving only 46 women managers serving in larger cities--those cities that have the resources to send a manager to a professional conference.[15] Especially in these times, as governments try to cut their budgets, larger ones are likely to pay expenses only for their highest ranking officer, while the smaller ones are likely to view all such expenses as unnecessary. Thus, budget considerations work to exacerbate an already lopsided system of representation.

A solution that was suggested by practically everyone was a program of scholarships or grants that would underwrite the expenses of meeting

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[15] Figures from Public Management Woman (Winter 1979) 1.

attendance for persons from poorer and smaller governments and for persons in positions below the top. Because women in those positions are outnumbered by men, it would be important to assure that the award of scholarships and grants carefully followed affirmative action principles, using the population as a whole, not government official rosters, as a base.

These two last mentioned solutions--basing all measures of representation on the population to be served rather than on persons holding official positions, and assisting small and poor communities in efforts to help their personnel participate at professional meetings--will have the greatest effect on national organizations and the women's groups within them. Other solutions will be needed to assist freestanding and state and local women's organizations.

One frequently mentioned idea focuses upon the attitudes of women in government. Often women, partly because of their sense of illegitimacy in the positions they hold, and partly because they lack mentors to teach them the ropes, fail to request and seek out the material support that they are entitled to. They are not aware of resources that could be available to them. Workshops and publications that would point out the sources of support for professional advancement that are available to elected and appointed officials and that spell out in full detail the process by which that support can be tapped would assist those women who have no informal means of acquiring this sort of knowledge.

Often, however, when women do seek support to attend a conference, participate in a workshop, or join an organization, it is denied them where it would not be denied a male colleague. At a Management Seminar for

Elected Women Officials, held at the Yale School of Organization and Management by the National Women's Education Fund, a county legislator from New York complained that she had trouble getting funds to attend the seminar. She was a member of the committee that passed on such expenditures. On the day that her own application came up for approval, she said, "they approved close to two dozen like a rubber stamp and then they came to mine and it took three-quarters of an hour. I really had to fight to get here." "Why?" she was asked. "This program is run by a woman's organization and I'm a woman legislator," she answered, and the women at her table nodded in understanding and told about similar problems they had encountered. This is one of the many stumbling blocks faced by programs directed at women. The public purse strings are in the hands of men; and until such power is evenly shared by women and men, or until the men in power begin to understand that the money they control comes equally from women and men and ought to be spent to benefit both equally, women, their organizations, and programs developed to help them will continue to have to struggle for each penny of public support or limp along on the private funds women are able to contribute.

An awakening sense of fairness may eventually result in women's organizations being as well funded as de facto men's organizations are. Until that happens, women will, as they have done in the past, have to help themselves. To do that efficiently, to spend their thin resources as effectively as possible, it would be helpful for all the leaders of women's organizations to join together. Their common problems might then yield to common solutions.

Increasing Numbers and Upward Mobility

All that we have written so far addresses the task of increasing the numbers and furthering the careers of women in public service. Here we shall look specifically at the barriers faced by women in credentialing, training, admissions to careers, and education and promotion.

Women need to be admitted to training programs that do exist, especially within governmental service, at the same rate as men. The Supreme Court Weber decision handed down on June 27, 1979, makes clear that it is entirely within the spirit of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to require that every training program include as many women as it does men. The experience of the PMIP shows that this in no way lowers the qualifications of participants. What is needed is a review of all training programs sponsored by governments to find out if they attract and serve women as well as they do men. Training programs that do not attract an equal number of women and men should be reexamined to learn why they do not and then changed so they will. For example, women in federal employment whom we interviewed all felt that women are excluded from participation in federally supported training programs by rules that apply primarily to the grades in which they predominate. A rule the women claimed was especially restraining is the one that says federally employed workers may have released time to attend a training program that would improve their performance in the job they hold, but that they may not be released for programs that would prepare them for higher ranking positions. We know of no woman in federal employment who does not feel that this rule is unevenly interpreted by male supervisors who regularly release men for programs that promote advancement but just as

regularly deny such release to women. This charge should be examined for its accuracy. If it is found justified by the evidence, rules and procedures should be changed to achieve equity.

In sum, we recommend the following measures:

One	develop accountability processes that will clearly put responsibility for fair employment practices with supervisors;
Two	organize workshops to assist males who have difficulty accepting females in leadership roles, and to assist women who have equal difficulty in seeing themselves in those roles;
Three	establish formal mentoring programs that encourage men to sponsor women's careers;
Four	showcase women of achievement;
Five	remove sexual stereotyping in language and photography from all publications of government and educational institutions;
Six	institute job qualifications based on performance criteria rather than traditional male career paths;
Seven	maintain employment data by gender in a single agency or organization;
Eight	base all measures of equity on the population at large;
Nine	assist small and poor communities in efforts to help the professional development of their personnel;
Ten	provide women's organizations in the public service with sufficient financial resources;

Eleven	provide women with the information they need to tap available resources for professional growth;
Twelve	bring leaders of women's organizations in the public service together to seek solutions to their common problems;
Thirteen	make certain that all programs for training, education, and promotion serve women as well as they do men.

APPENDIX 1

A PICTURE IS WORTH A THOUSAND WORDS AND A THOUSAND INSULTS, OR HOW TO SUCCEED AT DISCRIMINATION WITHOUT REALLY TRYING

A Picture is Worth a Thousand Words and a Thousand Insults, Or How to Succeed at Discrimination Without Really Trying

We have already noted the Presidential Management Internship program for its success at affirmative action. We cannot question its leaders' work to achieve gender equality in the program. Yet its brochure, through its pictures, sends out a pair of messages that is discriminatory: (1) important people are male; (2) the program includes women but it values men. We have chosen the PMIP brochure from among many similar brochures, not to chastise PMIP, but to show that we are, all of us--photographers, writers, editors, program leaders, both male and female--so much a part of our discriminatory culture that even when we work at equality as hard as PMIP has done, the traditional discriminatory message has a way of slipping in.

There are eight pictures in the brochure. The first shows the president signing executive order 12008 which established PMIP. Standing beside him are the chairman of the Civil Service Commission, the president of NASPAA and the president of AACSB--all important people, all male. Until women fill some of those positions, pictures like this probably cannot be helped; it does, however, show what women are up against.

Picture 2: Four interns, three male, one female, and a male leader.

Picture 3: A female and a male intern. They are equals, but not in the picture. He is standing pointing to a paper on a desk at which she is sitting. He looks active, she passive--he appears to be teaching her.

Picture 4: Four interns, two male, two female, and the male director of PMIP. As in picture 2 and 3, the possibilities for a

demonstration of equality in PMIP have given way to a picture of inequality. The male interns are sitting close to the director, the female interns beyond them. Because of the camera's perspective, the males appear larger, the females smaller. The second woman has her hand over her face and she is half cropped away.

Picture 5: Three full-face male interns and half of the back of a female head.

Picture 6: A black woman intern looking at a book. Probably an attempt at balance, but she is the only person in the brochure who is all alone, isolated, not shown interacting with others.

Picture 7: Three interns, two female and one male, with the male director of the USCSC Bureau of Intergovernmental Personnel Programs.

Summary: The brochure portrays seven important persons and eighteen interns. The seven leaders are all male. The interns include 10 males and 8 females; all of the males are shown full- or half-face, two of the females' faces are hidden; all the males are shown as equal or leading participants in some activity, one of the women is shown alone, and another is shown in a position subordinate to her colleague.

Thus from a program that stresses equality we get a picture of inequality. (Note: For suggestions on how to overcome this sort of insidious discrimination see pages 80-92 of this report and program option 30, Continuation of Support for and Expansion of the Work of the Federal Task Forces on Sex Discrimination, in "Changing the Opportunity Structure for Women in the Public Sector.")

APPENDIX II

ORGANIZATIONS OF WOMEN IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

I. STATEWIDE ORGANIZATIONS

A. STATEWIDE, INTERJURISDICTIONAL, ELECTIVE

California Elected Women's Association
for Education and Research (CEWAER)
Mary Hoffenberg, Executive Director
P.O. Box 7000-242
Redondo Beach, California 90277

President 1979-80
Marilyn Ryan
Assemblymember, 51st District
Suite 403
Redondo Beach, California 90277

Maryland Association of Elected Women
Judy Floyd, Staff Liaison
c/o Delegate Bert Booth
309 Lowe House Office Building
Annapolis, Maryland 21401
301-269-2543

President 1979-80
Bert Booth

New Jersey Association for Elected
Women Officials
c/o Center for the American Woman
and Politics, Eagleton Institute
New Brunswick, New Jersey 08901
201-932-9384

President
Phyllis Kavett
Township Committeewoman
P.O. Box 182
Howell, New Jersey 07731

Texas Association of Elected
Women, Inc.
P.O. Box 13491
Austin, Texas 78711
512-478-6601

President
Kathy Whitmire
City Controller of Houston
P.O. Box 1562
Houston, Texas 77001
713-222-3854

B. STATEWIDE, INTERJURISDICTIONAL, ADMINISTRATIVE/APPOINTIVE

California Women in Government (CWIG)

Northern Chapter:
Lynne Barrette, Chair
330 W. 20th Avenue
San Mateo, California 94403

Southern Chapter:
Peggy Edwards, Chair
P.O. Box 55516
Valencia, California 91355

San Diego Chapter:
Sheryl Z. White, Chair
3106 Carnegie Place
San Diego, California 92122

Michigan Women in Public Management
c/o Jan C. Perkins
Administrative Assistant
City of Grand Rapids
300 Monroe Avenue, N.W.
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49503

Arizona Women in Government, Illinois, Pennsylvania
For information about these organized statewide, interjurisdictional groups of administrative women contact:

Sally Gutierrez
Director, Professional Development
and Recruitment
University of Southern California
Civic Center Campus
311 South Spring Street, Suite 450
Los Angeles, California 90013
213-741-6081

Women in State Government (Michigan)
P.O. Box 14133
Lansing, MI 48901

President
Linda Poprawski

C. STATEWIDE, MUNICIPAL, ELECTIVE

Women Elected Municipal Officials (WEMO)
Shelia Cheimets, Staff Liaison
Massachusetts Municipal Association
131 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02111
617-426-7272

President
Colleen Tuck
Selectwoman
103 Glendale Road
Sharon, MA 02067

Alabama, California, Colorado, Iowa, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, North Dakota, Tennessee, Washington, Ohio, Virginia, New Mexico
For information about these organized statewide groups of elective municipal women contact:

Trudy Gayer Moloney
Staff Associate
National League of Cities
1620 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
202-293-7310

II. Women's Organizations in National Public Interest Groups

A. NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES (NLC)

Women in Municipal Government (WIMG)
Karen Kerns, Assistant Director for Membership Services
Trudy Gayer Moloney, Staff Associate
National League of Cities
1620 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
202-293-7310

1980 Chair
Ms. Pat Roach
Councilwoman of Dayton
101 West Third Street
Dayton, Ohio 45402
513-225-5148

B. NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES (NACo)

Women Officials in NACo
Karen Eisner/Barbara Rice
National Association of Counties
1735 New York Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
202-785-9577

1979-80 Chair
Karen Gottovi
New Hanover County Commissioner
Rt. 3, Box 344
Wilmington, North Carolina 28403

C. NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATURES (NCSL)

Women's Network
Andrea Wollock
Special Assistant for State Services
National Conference of State Legislatures
1405 Curtis Street, 23rd Floor
Denver, Colorado 80202
303-623-6600

III. Women's Organizations Within Professional Associations

A. INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGEMENT ASSOCIATION (ICMA)

Minority Executive Placement Program
Michael C. Rogers, Director
International City Management Association
1140 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-828-3686

Chairperson, Women in Management Subcommittee
Teena Clifton
City Manager
2 Portuguese Bend Road
Rolling Hills, California 90274

B. AMERICAN PLANNING ASSOCIATION

Women in Planning Division
1776 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-872-0611

Chair
Mary Deal
610-A Dodge Court
Dayton, Ohio 45431
(513) 258-1938

C. AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION (ASPA)

National Committee for Women
American Society for Public Administration
1225 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-785-3255

1979-80 Chair
Sally Gutierrez
Director, Professional Development and Recruitment
University of Southern California
Civic Center Campus
311 South Spring Street,
Suite 450
Los Angeles, California 90013
213-741-6081

D. AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT

Women's Network
Carol Floyd, Staff Liaison
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-659-9588

Director
Sharon Connelly
3044-C2 Buchanan Street
Arlington, VA 22206
703-379-9224

E. NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOUSING AND REDEVELOPMENT OFFICIALS (NAHRO)

Task Force on Women
Judy Morris, Staff Liaison
2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
202-333-2020

IV. Organizations at the Federal Level

A. OFFICES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Federal Women's Program (FWP)
Diane C. Herrmann
Director, Federal Women's Program
Office of Personnel Management
1900 E Street, N.W., Room 9540
Washington, D.C. 20415

Interdepartmental Task Force on
Women (ITFW)
Nancy Gordon
Director, Interdepartmental Task Force
on Women
1111 20th Street, N.W., Room 3050
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-653-5406

National Advisory Committee for Women
Sarita Schotta
Staff Director
200 Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Room C5321
Washington, D.C. 20210
202-523-6707

Chair
Lynda Johnson Robb

Interagency Task Force on Indian Women
Many Natani, Chair
Department of Labor
200 Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20210
202-523-6642

Women in Development Program
Arvonne Fraser, Coordinator
Room 3243 New State, AID
Washington, D.C. 20523
202-632-3992

Intradepartmental Coordinating Committee
on Women
Glen Carroll
Executive Secretary
Department of Labor
200 Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20210
202-523-8913

Chair
Alexis Herman

National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs
Joy Simonson
Staff Director
1832 M Street, N.W., Suite 821
Washington, D.C. 20036

Chair
Marjorie Bell Chambers

Secretary's Advisory Committee on Rights and Responsibilities of Women
Susan Lubick
Staff Director
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
300 Independence Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20101
202-245-8454

Chair
Aileen Hernandez

Task Force on Sex Discrimination
Stewart Oneglia, Director
Department of Justice
Civil Rights Division
Room 408, Safeway Building
521 12th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20530
202-724-6758

Women's Bureau/Bureau of Apprenticeship Training Task Force on Women in Apprenticeships
Elisie Denison
Co-Director
Women's Bureau
Department of Labor
200 Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20210
202-523-6643
Rebecca Sweeney, Co-Director
Bureau of Apprenticeship Training
202-376-6536

Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Service (DACOWIS)
Sally Richardson
Chair, DACOWIS
Pentagon Room 3D324
Washington, D.C. 20301
202-697-5455

B. VOLUNTARY AND MEMBERSHIP ASSOCIATIONS

Federally Employed Women (FEW)
Frances Kaplan
Executive Secretary
National Press Building #481
Washington, D.C. 20045
202-638-4404

National President
Dorothy E. Nelms

Washington Women's Network
National Women's Education Fund
1410 Q Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
Attn: Gail Kelleher
202-462-8606

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development--Women's Network
c/o Cynthia Thomas
Federal Women's Program Manager
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
451 7th Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20410
202-755-5457

C. UNIONS

American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE)--Women's Affairs Department
Louise Smothers, Director
Department of Women's Affairs
American Federation of Government Employees
1325 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

V. Organizations of National and State Legislators

A. NATIONAL LEGISLATORS

Congresswomen's Caucus
Betty Parsons Dooley
Executive Director
417 New Jersey Ave. SE
Washington, D.C. 20003
202-546-1010

Executive Committee Co-Chairs
Margaret M. Heckler
Elizabeth Holtzman

B. STATE LEGISLATORS

National Conference of State Legislatures
Women's Network
National Conference of State Legislatures
1405 Curtis Street, 23rd Floor
Denver, Colorado 80202
303-623-6600

Chair
Delegate Pauline Menes
3517 Marlborough Way
College Park, Maryland 20740
301-935-6270
301-935-5093

National Order of Women Legislators (OWLS)
c/o Pauline Menes
3517 Marlborough Way
College Park, Maryland 20740
301-935-6270
301-935-5093

President
Delegate Pauline Menes

Black Women's State Legislative Caucus
Legislative Plaza, Suite 17
Memphis, Tennessee
615-741-3830

Chair
Lois DeBerry
State Representative

Women's Caucus of the Maryland
General Assembly
Room 224
Lowe House Office Building
Annapolis, Maryland 21401
301-269-2910

President
Delegate Marilyn Goldwater
Room 224C
House Office Building
Annapolis, Maryland 21401
301-269-2651

"A Group of Women Legislators"
c/o Audrey Beck
State Senator
100 Dunham Pond Road
Storrs, Connecticut 06268

Massachusetts Women's Legislative Caucus
Patricia Brent, Executive Director
Room 156 - State House
Boston, MA 02133

Chair
Rep. Saundra Grahma
State House
Boston, MA 02133

Minnesota Women's Legislative Caucus
For information contact:
Phyllis Kahn
State Representative
100 Malcolm Avenue, S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414
612-378-2591

Oregon Women's Legislative Caucus
For information contact:
Gretchen Kafoury
State Representatives
1508 N.E. Stanton
Portland, Oregon 97212
503-378-3131

VI. Research and Training Centers for Women in Political Life or Government Employment

Center for Women in Government (CWG)
260 Washington Avenue
Albany, New York 12210
518-472-5630
Nancy D. Perlman, Director

Center for the American Woman and Politics
Eagleton Institute of Politics
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, New Jersey 08901
201-932-9384
Ruth B. Mandel, Director

National Women's Education Fund
1410 Q Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-462-8606
Rosalie Whelan, Executive Director

Washington Institute for Women in Politics
Mount Vernon College
Washington, D.C. 20007
202-331-3418
Elinor Hartshorn, Director

VII. The Presidential Management Intern Program (PMIP)

Bureau of Intergovernmental Personnel Programs
Office of Personnel Management
1900 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20415
202-254-7316

VIII. Organizations of Women in Elective Positions*

A Group of Women Legislators (103)

California Elected Women's Association for Education and Research (95)

Congresswomen's Caucus (103)

Maryland Association of Elected Women (95)

Massachusetts Women's Legislative Caucus (103)

Minnesota Women's Legislative Caucus (104)

National Association of Counties, Women Officials in NACo (97)

National Conference of State Legislatures, Women's Network (97, 103)

National League of Cities, Women in Municipal Government (97)

National Order of Women Legislators (103)

New Jersey Association For Elected Women Officials (95)

Oregon Women's Legislative Caucus (104)

Texas Association of Elected Women, Inc. (95)

Women Elected Municipal Officials, Massachusetts (96)

Women's Caucus of the Maryland General Assembly (103)

* Numbers in parentheses refer to pages in this appendix where the complete address of the organization can be found.

IX. Organizations of Women in Appointive/Administrative Positions*

American Planning Association, Women in Planning Division (98)

American Society for Public Administration, National Committee for Women (98)

American Society for Training and Development, Women's Network (98)

California Women in Government (95)

Federally Employed Women (102)

Housing and Urban Development, U.S. Department of, Women's Network (102)

International City Management Association, Women in Management Subcommittee (98)

Michigan Women in Public Management (96)

National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, Task Force on Women (99)

Women in State Government, Michigan (96)

Washington Women's Network (102)

*Numbers in parentheses refer to pages in this appendix where the complete address of the organization can be found.